

CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF TRADITIONAL HAUSA CITIES: A STUDY OF ZARIA 1804-2004 AD

By

Shaibu B. Garba

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

206 53310 1

Theses L8613

A Thesis submitted to
The School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape, University of
Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne, in fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Design

June 2007

ABSTRACT

The thesis examined change in the public space of traditional Hausa cities from 1804 to 2004 AD, with Zaria as a case study. The objectives of the research are to find out what changes have taken place in Zaria's public space from 1804 to 2004 and why the changes taken place in the way they did? The research arises from problems associated with rapid growth and change in the cities that include the prospects of the loss of traditional character and cultural history, urban servicing and social problems, general disaffection with the outcome of change, and the need for information to support intervention. The focus on public space arises from the perception of its importance for cities and of a gap in research on the subject in the traditional Hausa cities.

The research adopted a five-dimensional approach, with public space viewed as material space with a social and symbolic dimension, situated within a cultural setting with both public space and cultural setting in a process of dynamic change. A model was developed linking all the dimensions, based on which a framework of issues and questions was developed for use in examining the case study. The research employed both documentary research and fieldwork in data sourcing. Public space was examined in three periods; the jihad, colonial and post-colonial. The identification of change focused on examining and identifying variations in the material, social and symbolic dimensions of public space with time. The explanation of change focused on establishing a link between changes in public space with broader cultural transformation as is manifested in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society. The study identified specific changes in the physical, social and symbolic dimensions of Zaria's public space in the period 1804 to 2004, and explanatory theories were advanced to account for the way the changes occurred based on cultural transformation patterns.

The study found that public space has changed gradually and incrementally within the period studied. Change was found to initially be slow, but assumed a faster pace in the later part of the post-colonial period and is now affecting the city's traditional character. The study found that change in public space can be explained through linkage with concurrent cultural transformation taking place in a society. The study established that Zaria had never had any significant planning intervention and this was reflected in visible problems in the public space of the city. Some recommendations for intervention are advanced.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A research of this magnitude cannot be undertaken without assistance and support from a host of people. I would like to use this opportunity to thank all those who have assisted me in one way or the other in the process of undertaking the research.

I would like to thank the King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, my employers, for facilitating the research in many ways. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Ali Madanipour, my supervisor, for his valuable and incisive comments and many published works that have inspired and given form to the thesis. I am also grateful to Prof. Umar Benna, the co-supervisor, for his commentaries and feedback that to a large extent contributed in ensuring clarity in the treatment of the subject matter.

Several people contributed in one way or the other during the field work part of the research. I am grateful to the Emir of Zaria and the Emirate Council for permission to carryout the fieldwork. My assistants during the field work, Samaila Abubakar, Mohammed Zayyanu, Bello Mukhtar, and Abdullahi Nasiru, were invaluable in their help. I will like to extend my appreciation to them. I am also grateful to Mallam Muazu Sani of the Fine Arts Department, Ahmadu Bello University for his help in various aspects of the fieldwork, including the photo documentation of the city.

It would have been impossible to undertake the research without the numerous sources that are a product of previous interest in and research on Zaria. I will like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to all the numerous explorers, researchers and technocrats who had committed their interest in Zaria into writing thereby laying the foundation for this work. I am also grateful to Ahmadu Bello University Zaria for providing access to resources in their library, Departments of History and Geography and also the Arewa House and therefore contributed to my successful completion of the study.

Finally, I will like to extend my appreciation to Aisha, Ruqayya and Fatima, who have always wondered what was in the office that kept me working so late, and to the many other people, too numerous to mention, who have in one way or the other assisted me in the process of carrying out the research.

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	III
TABLE OF CONTENT	IV
LIST OF TABLES	X
LIST OF FIGURES	XI
GLOSSARY.....	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 THE TRADITIONAL HAUSA CITIES	1
1.2 PROBLEMS ADDRESSED BY THE RESEARCH.....	3
1.3 THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH	6
1.4 THE RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHOD	7
1.5 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....	9
CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING AND EXAMINING URBAN PUBLIC SPACE. 10	
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	10
2.1 THE CONCEPT OF SPACE AND URBAN SPACE	10
2.1.1 The Concept of Space.....	10
2.1.2 The Concept of Urban Space.....	12
2.2 THE CONCEPT OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACE	13
2.2.1 The Meaning of Public Space	13
2.2.2 The Dimensions of Public Space.....	14
2.2.2.1 <i>The Physical Dimension</i>	14
2.2.2.1.1 Typology of Public Spaces.....	14
2.2.2.1.2 Morphological Organization	15
2.2.2.1.3 Ownership, Control and Management.....	16
2.2.2.2 <i>The Social Dimension</i>	17
2.2.2.2.1 The Concept of the Public and Private in Social Life	17
2.2.2.2.2 Inclusion, Exclusion and the Concept of the "Public".....	18
2.2.2.2.3 Social Activities and Interactions in Public Space	19
2.2.2.2.4 The Ideal of Public Space as the Public Sphere	20
2.2.2.3 <i>The Symbolic Dimension</i>	20
2.2.2.3.1 Systems of Meanings and Connections in Public Space	21
2.2.2.3.2 The Process of Developing Meanings and Connections	22
2.2.2.4 <i>The Cultural Dimension</i>	23
2.2.2.4.1 The Relationship of Social Culture to Public Space.....	24
2.2.2.4.2 The Universal Applicability of the Concept of "Public Space"	26
2.2.2.5 <i>The Temporal or Historical Dimension</i>	26
2.2.2.5.1 Time and Change in Urban and Public Space	27
2.2.2.5.2 The Dynamic Nature of Social Culture	29
2.2.2.5.3 The Evolution of Public Space Practices.....	30
2.2.2.5.4 The Concept of Tradition within a Framework of Dynamic Culture Change	30
2.3 APPROACHES TO THE EXAMINATION OF PUBLIC SPACE	31
2.3.1 The Design Disciplines	31
2.3.1.1 <i>Theoretical Bases of the Approach of the Design Disciplines</i>	31
2.3.1.2 <i>Relevant Approaches</i>	33
2.3.1.2.1 Urban Morphology	33
2.3.1.2.2 Urban History.....	34

2.3.1.2.3 General Limitations of the Design Approaches.....	35
2.3.2 The Social Sciences.....	35
2.3.2.1 <i>Theoretical Bases of the Social Science Disciplines</i>	35
2.3.2.1.1 Positivistic Approach	35
2.3.2.1.2 Behavioural Approach.....	36
2.3.2.1.3 The Structural Approach	37
2.3.2.1.4 The Post-Structuralist Approaches	37
2.3.2.2 <i>Relevant Approaches</i>	38
2.3.2.2.1 People and Public Life in Public Spaces	38
2.3.2.2.2 Environment and Behaviour Approach	40
2.2.3 Recent Cross Disciplinary Trend	41
2.2.3.1 <i>Theoretical Bases of the Cross Disciplinary Trend</i>	41
2.2.3.2 <i>Relevant Approaches</i>	42
2.2.3.2.1 The Socio-spatial Approach	42
2.2.3.2.2 Structuration and Time-geography.....	42
2.2.3.2.3 Habitat Research	45
2.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	45
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH	47
3.0 INTRODUCTION.....	47
3.1 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH	47
3.1.1 A Five-Dimensional Approach to Public Space.....	47
3.1.1.1 <i>Material Space with a Social and Symbolic Dimension</i>	47
3.1.1.2 <i>The Cultural Dimension</i>	49
3.1.1.3 <i>The Historical Dimension</i>	50
3.1.2 Model of Urban Public Space	51
3.2 APPLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK TO THE CASE STUDY.....	53
3.2.1 Research Issues and Questions.....	53
3.2.2 Approach to the Case Study	56
3.2.3 Scope of the Research	57
3.3 RESEARCH TECHNIQUES.....	59
3.3.1 Data Issues and Problems of the Research.....	59
3.3.2 Data Sources.....	61
3.3.2.1 <i>Fieldwork</i>	61
3.3.2.1.1 Preparation for the Fieldwork.....	61
3.3.2.1.2 Pre-fieldwork Photographic Survey	62
3.3.2.1.3 Pre-fieldwork Preparations in Zaria	63
3.3.2.1.4 Exploration of the City and Photo Documentation.....	64
3.3.2.1.5 Field Observation and Interviews.....	65
3.3.2.1.6 Detailed Biographical Survey.....	66
3.3.2.1 <i>Secondary Data Sources</i>	66
3.3.2.1.1 Maps and Digital Imagery.....	66
3.3.2.1.2 Memoirs and Biographies	66
3.3.2.1.3 Archival Material	67
3.3.2.1.4 Unpublished Government Reports and Academic Research Products ...	67
3.3.2.1.5 Published Academic Research Product	68
3.3.2.1.6 Other Sources	69
3.3.2 Data Analysis	69
3.3.2.1 <i>Data Sorting and organization</i>	70
3.3.2.1.1 Fieldwork Data Sorting, Organization and Analysis	70
3.3.2.1.2 Documentary Data Collection, Sorting and Organization	71
3.3.2.2 <i>Analyzing Evidence and Identifying and Explaining Change</i>	71
3.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	73
CHAPTER 4: THE HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND URBAN SPACE SETTING OF ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE.....	75

4.0 INTRODUCTION.....	75
4.1 THE CULTURAL SETTING OF THE TRADITIONAL HAUSA CITIES	75
4.1.1 The Physical Setting of the Hausa Traditional Cities.....	75
4.1.2 Social Composition and Organization.....	77
4.1.3 Systems of Beliefs, Norms and Values	77
4.1.4 Political Organization.....	79
4.1.5 Economy.....	79
4.1.6 Spatial Organization.....	80
4.1.6.1 Urban-Rural Organization.....	80
4.1.6.2 Urban Space of the Traditional city.....	81
4.1.6.3 Public-Private Divide of Urban Space.....	84
4.2 THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING OF URBAN LIFE IN ZARIA	84
4.2.1 The History of Zaria Prior to the Jihad.....	84
4.2.2 History and Cultural Setting in the Jihad Period (1804-1902)	85
4.2.2.1 The Jihad in Zaria.....	85
4.2.2.2 Zaria as a Vassal State of Sokoto.....	86
4.2.2.3 Institution of Monarchical Rule	87
4.2.2.4 Nature of Governance and Administration	89
4.2.2.5 Religion and Social Life in the Jihad Period	89
4.2.2.6 Migration and Social Contact after the Jihad.....	90
4.2.2.7 Economy of Zaria in the Jihad Period	90
4.2.3 Historical and Cultural Setting in the Colonial Period (1902-1960).....	92
4.2.3.1 Colonial Administration in Zaria.....	92
4.2.3.2 British Colonial Administration as New Overlords	92
4.2.3.3 Introduction of Municipal Governance and Management	94
4.2.3.4 Trade and Contact in the Colonial Period.....	95
4.2.3.5 The Role of Religion in the Colonial Period.....	96
4.2.3.5 Fight for Independence and Promotion of a Regime of Gradual change ...	96
4.2.4 Historical and Cultural Setting in the Post-Colonial Period (1960–2004)	97
4.2.4.1 Independence and Post-Colonial Governance.....	97
4.2.4.2 Petroleum, the National Economy and Development.....	97
4.2.4.3 National Competition and Social Conflicts.....	99
4.2.4.4 Zaria in the Post-Colonial Period.....	101
4.3 THE URBAN SPACE SETTING OF ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE	102
4.3.1 The Physical Space of the City.....	102
4.3.1.1 The Metropolitan Context	102
4.3.1.2 The Boundary of Zaria's Urban Space.....	105
4.3.1.3 The Built-up area of the Zaria.....	106
4.3.1.4 The Organization and Administration of Urban Space.....	108
4.3.2 The Social Context.....	110
4.3.2.1 Population of the City	110
4.3.2.2 Social Structures of the Population.....	111
4.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	113
CHAPTER 5: THE MATERIAL FABRIC OF PUBLIC SPACE	114
5.0 INTRODUCTION.....	114
5.1 TYPES OF PUBLIC PLACES	114
5.1.1 Classification of Public Spaces	114
5.1.1.1 Free Access Public Spaces.....	114
5.1.1.1.1 The Dandali.....	115
5.1.1.1.2 Road or Movement Spaces.....	116
5.1.1.1.3 Community Spaces.....	117
5.1.1.1.4 Production and Service Spaces.....	119
5.1.1.1.5 City Gates.....	120
5.1.1.1.6 Natural Spaces.....	121
5.1.1.2 Quasi Public Spaces.....	123

5.1.1.2.1 Markets.....	123
5.1.1.2.2 Religious Space.....	123
5.1.1.2.3 Institutional Spaces	125
5.1.1.2.4 Entertainment and Recreation Facilities.....	127
5.1.2 Evolution of the Public Spaces.....	128
5.1.2.1 <i>The Jihad Period</i>	128
5.1.2.2 <i>The Colonial Period</i>	131
5.1.2.3 <i>The Post-Colonial Period</i>	132
5.2 MORPHOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION	132
5.2.1 Public Space Patterns	133
5.2.2 Structure and Organization.....	136
5.2.3 Pattern of Enclosure and Surface Treatment.....	139
5.2.3.1 <i>Pattern of Open Public Space Enclosure</i>	140
5.2.3.1 <i>Pattern of Enclosure Surface and its Treatment</i>	141
5.3 PRODUCTION AND MANAGEMENT	142
5.3.1 Agents and Process in Space Production.....	142
5.3.1.2 <i>Agents in Space Production</i>	142
5.3.1.2 <i>The Process of Production</i>	146
5.3.2 Ownership, servicing and Management of Public Spaces.....	148
5.3.2.1 <i>Ownership of Public Spaces</i>	148
5.3.2.2 <i>Servicing and Management of Public Spaces</i>	149
5.3.2 The Amenity Value of Public Space	151
5.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	154
CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL LIFE IN PUBLIC SPACES	156
6.0 INTRODUCTION.....	156
6.1 THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF PUBLIC SPACE.....	156
6.1.1 People in Public Place	156
6.1.1.1 <i>People in Public Space of the Jihad Period</i>	157
6.1.1.2 <i>People in the Public Space of the Colonial and Early Post-Colonial Periods</i>	160
6.1.1.3 <i>People in Contemporary Public Space</i>	161
6.1.1.3.1 Ethnicity Patterns	161
6.1.1.3.2 Gender Patterns	161
6.1.1.3.3 Age Patterns	163
6.1.1.3.4 Class Patterns	163
6.1.2 Patterns of Access and Diversity in Public Space.....	164
6.2 ACTIVITIES IN PUBLIC SPACE	165
6.2.1 Types of Activities in Zaria's Public Space.....	165
6.2.1.1 <i>Movement and Transportation</i>	165
6.2.1.2 <i>Functional Activities</i>	166
6.2.1.3 <i>Religious and Symbolic Cultural Activities</i>	168
6.2.1.4 <i>Social Activities and Interactions</i>	169
6.2.1.5 <i>Political Activities</i>	171
6.2.1.6 <i>Recreation and Entertainment</i>	172
6.2.2 Evolution of Activities in Zaria's Public Space.....	173
6.2.2.1 <i>Social Activities in the Jihad Period</i>	174
6.2.2.2 <i>Social Activities in the Colonial Period</i>	177
6.2.2.3 <i>Social Activities in the Post Colonial Period</i>	178
6.3 THE DAILY BIOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC SPACE.....	179
6.3.1 The Daily Biography of Public Space in the Jihad Period	179
6.3.1.1 <i>Day Time Period</i>	179
6.3.1.2 <i>Evening and Night Time Periods</i>	183
6.3.1.3 <i>Changes in the Typical Pattern of Daily Biography</i>	184
6.3.1.3.1 Changes due to the Seasons.....	184
6.3.1.3.2 Changes due to Religious and Other Rhythmic Activities	185

6.3.2 Changes in Daily Biography during the Colonial and Post-colonial period	186
6.3.3 Daily Biography of Contemporary Public Space	188
6.3.3.1 <i>The Start of the day (5:00–7:00am)</i>	188
6.3.3.2 <i>The Daytime period (7:00 am–7:00pm)</i>	189
6.3.3.2.1 Distributor Road and Ward Spaces	189
6.3.3.2.2 District and Major Road Spaces	190
6.3.3.2.3 Government Offices and Recreational Sports Areas	193
6.3.3.3 <i>The Late Evening period (7:00–11:00pm)</i>	194
6.3.3.4 <i>The Night-Time Period (11:00 pm–5:00am)</i>	195
6.3.3.5 <i>Pattern of Change in the Daily biography of public space</i>	195
6.3.3.5.1 Changes due to the Temporal Rhythm of Social Life	196
6.3.3.5.2 Changes Arising from the Seasons	197
6.3.3.5.3 Changes due to Religious Events and Celebrations	197
6.3.3.5.4 Changes due to Other Events	200
6.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	200
CHAPTER 7: THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF PUBLIC SPACE	202
7.0 INTRODUCTION	202
7.1 PLACE SIGNIFICANCE AND GROUP CONNECTIONS	202
7.1.1 Place Significance and Significant Places of Zaria	202
7.1.1.1 <i>Significant Places of Zaria</i>	202
7.1.1.1.1 Significant Places in the Jihad Period	202
7.1.1.1.2 Significant Places in the Colonial Period	205
7.1.1.1.3 Significant Places in the Post-Colonial Period	205
7.1.1.2 <i>The Basis for Place Significance and Attachment</i>	207
7.1.2 Group identity and Connections	208
7.1.2.1 <i>Group Identify and Connection in the Jihad Period</i>	209
7.1.2.2 <i>Group Identify and Connection in the Colonial Period</i>	210
7.1.2.3 <i>Group Identify and Connection in the Post-colonial Period</i>	210
7.2 ATTITUDES, VALUES AND SYMBOLS	212
7.2.1 Behaviour and Attitude	212
7.2.2 Norms, Values and Symbols	214
7.2.2.1 <i>Norms, Values and Symbols in the Jihad Period</i>	214
7.2.2.2 <i>Norms, Values and Symbols in the Colonial Period</i>	217
7.2.2.3 <i>Norms, Values and Symbols in the Post-colonial Period</i>	220
7.3 THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIAL LIFE	225
7.3.1 Role of Religion in the Social Life of the Jihad Period	226
7.3.2 Role of Religion in the Social Life of the Colonial Period	228
7.3.3 Role of Religion in the Social Life of the Post-Colonial Period	228
7.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	230
CHAPTER 8: EXPLAINING CHANGE IN ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE	231
8.0 INTRODUCTION	231
8.1 CULTURAL FORCES SHAPING CHANGE IN ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE	231
8.1.1 The Jihad as Political Change with Symbolic Undertone	232
8.1.2 Colonialism and the Preservation of a Traditional Order	233
8.1.3 Independence and the Search for a Stable Order	235
8.2 EXPLANATIONS OF CHANGE IN ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE	236
8.2.1 Change in Material Public Space	236
8.2.1.1 <i>Types of Public Spaces</i>	236
8.2.1.2 <i>Morphology and Organization</i>	240
8.2.1.3 <i>Production and Management</i>	243
8.2.2 Changes in the Social Dimension of Public Space	246
8.2.2.1 <i>The Social Character of Public Space</i>	246
8.2.2.2 <i>Activities in Public Space</i>	248
8.2.2.3 <i>Daily Biography of Public Space</i>	249

8.2.3 Changes in the Symbolic Dimension of Public Space	251
8.2.3.1 <i>Significant Places of the City</i>	251
8.2.3.2 <i>Group Identity and Connections</i>	252
8.2.3.3 <i>Behaviour and Attitudes</i>	254
8.2.3.4 <i>Values and Symbols in Public Space</i>	255
8.2.3.5 <i>The Role of Religion in Social Life</i>	259
8.3 THE RESEARCH FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS AND FRAMEWORK	261
8.3.1 The Research Findings and the Research Propositions	261
8.3.2 The Research Findings and the Research Framework	263
8.3.2.1 <i>Public Space as Material Space with Social and Symbolic Dimension</i>	263
8.3.2.2 <i>Social Culture and Public Space</i>	263
8.3.2.2 <i>History, Social Culture and Public Space</i>	264
8.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION	265
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	267
9.1 THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS	267
9.1.1 Overview of the Research Objectives and Method	267
9.1.2 The Research Findings	267
9.1.2.1 <i>What Changes have Taken Place in Zaria's Public Space?</i>	267
9.1.2.2 <i>Why Have the Changes Taken Place in the Way They Did?</i>	269
9.1.3 General Conclusions and Implications of the Research	270
9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MANAGING CHANGE IN ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE	271
9.3 CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	273
9.4 AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY	275
CHAPTER NOTES:	276
REFERENCES:	284
APPENDICES:	292
APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS ABOUT CHANGE IN PUBLIC SPACE:	292
APPENDIX B: COMMENTARY ON THE HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH:	300

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3-1: Scope of the research questions..... 58

Table A-1: Summary of observation about types of public spaces 292

Table A-2: Summary of observations about morphological organization 293

Table A-3: Summary of observations about production and management 294

Table A-4: Summary of observations about social character of public space 295

Table A-5: Summary of observations about activities in public spaces 295

Table A-6: Summary of observations about daily biography 296

Table A-7: Summary of observations about place significance and significant places 296

Table A-8: Summary of observations about group identity and connections 297

Table A-9: Summary of observations about behaviour and attitudes 297

Table A-10: Summary of observations about norms values and symbols 298

Table A-11: Summary of observations about the role of religion in social life 299

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Map of Nigeria showing the seven Hausa states.....	2
Figure 1.1: Outline of the approach to the research	8
Figure 3-1: Structuration of urban space and the production of public space	48
Figure 3-2: Relationship of culture to urban space	50
Figure 3-3: Model of urban public space	52
Figure 3-4: Framework for exploring period public space.....	54
Figure 3-5: Framework for exploring change in public space.....	55
Figure 3-6: Location of observation spots in fieldwork survey.....	64
Figure 4-1: Map of Nigeria showing Hausa land	76
Figure 4.2: The conceptual organization of Hausa-Fulani cities	81
Figure 4-3: Urban space of the Kano and Katsina traditional cities.....	82
Figure 4-4: Layout of a traditional Hausa compound	83
Figure 4-5: The growth of Zaria's urban units.....	104
Figure 4-6: Current extent of development in Zaria.....	106
Figure 4-7: Historical pattern of the growth of Zaria's built space	107
Figure 4-8: Social institutions in Zaria's urban space.....	107
Figure 4-9: Current ward divisions in the traditional city	109
Figure 4-10: Current district divisions in the traditional city	109
Figure 4-11: Social geography of Zaria city	111
Figure 5-1: The Dandali in Zaria.....	115
Figure 5-2: The movement system.....	117
Figure 5-3: Community open spaces.....	118
Figure 5-4: Production spaces on Kofar Doka city road	119
Figure 5-5: Production spaces inside quarters.....	120
Figure 5-6: Gates of the city.....	121
Figure 5-7: Example of natural space in Zaria's urban space	122
Figure 5-8: Currently undevelopable natural spaces in Zaria's fabric	122
Figure 5-9: Market spaces.....	124
Figure 5-10: Mosque in the city fabric.....	125
Figure 5-11: Institutional spaces in the city fabric	126
Figure 5-12: Entertainment spaces- paradise cinema, Zaria.....	127
Figure 5-13: Types of space patterns in Zaria's built fabric	134
Figure 5-14: Change in density of development in a sample area.....	135
Figure 5-15: Structure of the built fabric of Hausa cities (<i>after Moughtin 1985</i>)	137
Figure 5-16: Structure of the built fabric of Zaria.....	138
Figure 5-17: House-street relation in the built fabric of Zaria (<i>after Moughtin 1985</i>)	138
Figure 5-18: Enclosure of open spaces in Zaria's fabric (<i>Image 1 after DURP 1979</i>)	140
Figure 5-19: Treatment of Building façade in the Present Urban Fabric	143
Figure 5-20: Sample of pleasant spaces in the urban fabric	152
Figure 5-21: Sample of Amenity problems in the urban fabric.....	154
Figure 6-1: People and movement activities in Zaria's fabric	165
Figure 6-2: Functional activities in public space.....	166
Figure 6-3: Religious activities in the city fabric	168
Figure 6-4: Social activities in public space.....	170
Figure 6-5: Politics in the city fabric.....	171
Figure-6-6: Itinerant forms of entertainment in city spaces	172
Figure 6-7: Traditional craft activities in the City Spaces.....	174
Figure 6-8: Day time activities in public space	192
Figure 6-9: Friday prayer in the city	196
Figure 6-10: Eid prayers.....	198
Figure 6-11: Start of the Eid parade at Kofar Gayan.....	199
Figure 6-12: The Eid parade at the Emir's palace.....	199
Figure 7-1: The Friday Mosque in Zaria (<i>after Moughtin, 1972</i>)	204
Figure 7-2: Current significant places and their level of recognition.....	207
Figure 7.3: Factors accounting for current group connection and identity at the city level	211
Figure 7.4: Factors accounting for current connections to cider Hausa culture	212
Figure 7-5: Royal entourage as symbols	217
Figure 7-6: House as symbols in the built fabric.....	219
Figure 7-7: House decoration.....	220
Figure 7-8: Customary dressing in public spaces.....	221

GLOSSARY

Al Kali – judge of the Muslim court

Anguwa – residential ward in the traditional city

Attajiri – rich or wealthy person (pl. Attajirai)

Bori – the spirit-possession cult, also the possessing of spirit; it refers to the earliest pre-Islamic religious practices of the Habe or Hausa people

Dandali – the ceremonial and cultural space of Hausa traditional cities, usually located in front of the Emir's Palace

Dogari – toyal body guard and Native Authority policemen

Fada – means palace, usually used in reference to the palace of the Emir

Fulani – synonymously used with Fulbe; refers to an ethnic group found in the West African region

Gaisuwa – greetings; also used in reference to payment by conquered people as an acknowledgement of suzerainty

Ganuwa – city walls

Habe – today usually means the Hausa as distinct from the Fulani people. Also used sometimes in reference to non-Muslim Hausa

Hakimi – village head in charge of a particular fief territory

Hausa – is a language spoken by people of mixed origins and race, and those who speak it as their mother-tongue are known as *Hausawa*. Used also in reference to the cultural group who speak the language

Iskoki - spirits (Singl. *Iska*)

Jama'a – means the followers of a religious leader in the form of a special group

Jekada – messenger of a noble man or official

Jihad – holy war

Jizyah – yearly tax payment by conquered people

Kalangu – a particular type of drum used in entertaining ladies

Kasuwa – market

Kharaj – levy, usually imposed on landed property

Kirari – act of praising a person by a eulogist or others, usually using songs, or through description of character or lineage

Kofa: in every day usage means door; also used to refer to an intermediary or representative of the emir

Mai - in front of a word has the meaning 'owner of'

Mai Anguwa – ward head

Malam - a Koranic scholar, currently also used for 'learned man'

Masarauta – rulers

Qunduma – means a district as a unit of spatial organization of the traditional city

Sallah – prayer, also used to refer to the Muslim Eid

Sarki – chief or King (it is also used synonymously with emir); is also applied to the titular head of a political, social or occupational group

Shariah – islamic law

Soro – a particular type of flat roof mud construction common to the Sudan region of Africa

Talaka – commoner or peasant (pl. Talakawa)

Tashe – cultural activities that are practiced during the Ramada or Muslim fasting period

Wakili – agent, emissary or representative

Zakkah – an annual payment on wealth by Muslims

Zaria – the name of the walled traditional city, which is also the capital of the Zazzau Emirate

Zazzau – the old and Hausa name for Zaria, but is now used in reference to the larger emirate over which Zaria and its king exercise suzerainty

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research and places it in context in a number of ways. The Hausa cities are first introduced and the research problem outlined. The aim and objectives of the research is then presented followed by an outline of the research approach. The chapter ends with an overview of the organization of the thesis.

1.1 The Traditional Hausa Cities

The traditional Hausa cities are a group of seven city states (*Hausa Bakwai*) founded in Northern Nigeria in the ninth century that now form part of contemporary urban areas (Figure 1.1)¹. The Hausa (also known as *Habe*) founders of the cities are a cultural group of mixed origin and race united by a common language found in the northern part of Nigeria and in neighbouring areas.² The Hausa people and cities have a long history, dating back to 9th century. There are no established written sources that provide a valid and reliable account of the founding of the Hausa cities. The most popularly transmitted legend tells of the coming of a prince of Baghdad to Daura, where he killed a snake that was denying people access to a water well.³ He got married to the queen of the city as a reward for his action. The marriage resulted in an offspring who later had the seven children that founded the seven Hausa city states; Biram, Daura, Katsina Zazzau (also later known as Zaria), Kano, Rano and Gobir (Hogben 1967, Ifemesia 1965). There is, however, an alternative theory that links the founding and development of the Hausa city states to ecological forces resulting from the need for defence, urbanization and improvements in agricultural technology. Islam was introduced to the city states in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Hausa city states remained as independent political units ruled by Hausa monarchs and bounded by ties of language and culture until the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ifemesia 1965, p.91).

West Africa witnessed a period of revolutionary change in the nineteenth century. In the Sudan region, the period witnessed the rise of movements calling for the institution of a more puritan form of Islam at the state level (Ajayi 1965 p.253). In Hausa land, the call for change took the form of jihad against the rulers of the Hausa city states spearheaded by a Fulani Muslim cleric Usman Dan Fodio, who was proclaimed *Amir al Mummin*

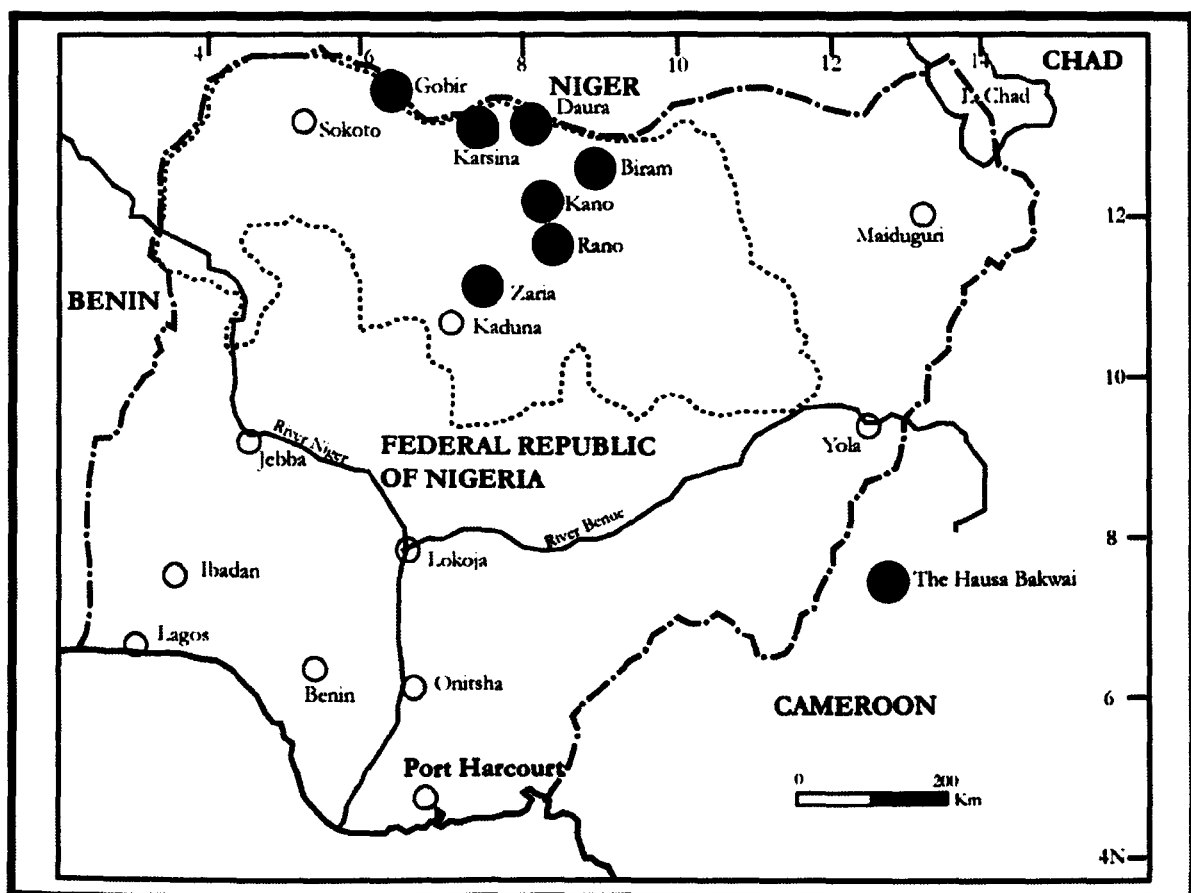


Figure 1.1: Map of Nigeria showing the seven Hausa states

(commander of the faithful) by his followers. Dan Fodio, accusing the Hausa rulers of misrule and corruption, sought to depose them and replaced them with a more just system. The jihad had its first victory in 1804 with the deposition of the ruler of Gobir. The Jihad subsequently resulted in the deposition of all the rulers of the Hausa cities, along with many other non Hausa cities. As a result of the jihad, the Hausa city states were integrated politically into a union of independent city states in an Islamic caliphate under the leadership of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio with its capital at Sokoto. Some of the Hausa city states such as Kano, Zaria, Katsina and Daura evolved retaining prominent positions within the caliphate, while others such as Rano, Gobir and Biram declined in importance surviving only as small settlements. The Sokoto caliphate survived as a political union for almost a hundred years and only disintegrated with European colonial expansion into northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century.

The colonial push into Northern Nigeria and Hausa land by Britain started in 1900 with the proclamation of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria by Sir Fredrick Lugard in Lokoja. From Lokoja, the colonial administration began expanding their control through conquest and by April 1901 had brought eight provinces, including Zaria, under colonial rule.⁴ Kano

fell in February 1903 and Sokoto in March 1903. In 1914 the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria were united as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, with Lugard as the first Governor General. The British imposition of colonial rule led to dissolution of the Sokoto Caliphate and the integration of the Hausa-Fulani cities into the colonial Administrative framework. A system of indirect rule was introduced whereby the emirs of the city states were left in place as ruler but became answerable to the colonial administration through resident representatives. Zaria, Kano and Katsina emerged as Provincial headquarters, with their emirs controlling a significant amount of territory. These cities later evolved as the nucleus of larger metropolitan centres. Agitation for independence during the mid 20th century resulted in self government for Nigeria in 1959 and full independence on October 1, 1960. The Hausa cities have experienced divergent paths of development since independence. Kano and Katsina have evolved as state capitals and centres of administration. Zaria has evolved situated within a large cosmopolitan metropolis, while Daura has evolved as a remote mid-size settlement.

1.2 Problems Addressed by the Research

The research arises from a number of broad problems that characterize the growth and change of the traditional Hausa cities. The most fundamental issue is the increasing rapidity of growth and change. Since their establishment in the 9th century to the imposition of colonial rule at the beginning of the 20th century, the cities have had a steady albeit slow process of change and evolution. Colonialism introduced change at a rapid pace in the broader metropolitan context within which the cities are situated but isolated the cities so that they changed at a very moderate pace. Since independence in 1960, the rate of growth and change in the cities appeared to have assumed a rapid pace. Rapid growth and change also appears to be taking place without adequate and appropriate mechanisms and structures for effective management, and has therefore been associated with a number of problems. One problem relates to the impact of growth on the fundamental character of the cities. There is a growing perception that rapid growth and change is doing away with the fundamental traditional character of the cities. The change that is happening is also believed to be producing outcomes that are not very satisfactory, being associated with such problems as unemployment and underemployment, drug use, vagrancy, unplanned and uncontrolled physical development, lack of urban services and loss of a sense of cultural identity. The problem is also viewed as having the potential to jeopardise the future of the cities thereby creating the need for critical examination.

Rapid change is also happening in the face of limited research interest and activity on the cities. The traditional cities were an active focus of research in the late 1950s to the 1980s, when interest was on institutional issues at a cultural level. The later part of the period witnessed some studies focused on the urban level. Since the 1980s, there has been a decline in research on the cities. There is, therefore, a general perception that there have been no comprehensive studies of the cities at the urban level or of change and the forces shaping change. This situation harbours the prospect of the loss of ability to study and document cultural practices as the cities change and transform rapidly, and in addition, the prospect of the lost of valuable cultural knowledge and history due to the poor state of research and documentation. The prospect of such a loss establishes the need and urgency for documentary research on the cities. From all indications, there is also a clear need to improve the management of change and development in the Hausa cities. Problems associated with the cities, as highlighted in the earlier paragraph, point to the need for such improvements. The improvements can only happen, however, if intervention is informed, being backed by adequate information and understanding of the processes involved in change. The general absence of government statistics and information gathering systems means that academic research remains one of the most viable means of providing information to support improvement in urban management. Academic research products have the potential to raise the profile of urban problems and generate public discussions that may ultimately lead to intervention. Research can also assist in identifying viable ways of intervening to address urban problems.

The problems highlighted establish the need for the study of change in the traditional Hausa cities with this research as a direct response to such a need. The research seeks to contribute in specifically addressing the problems in five ways;

- It addresses the need for more research into and understanding of the traditional Hausa cities
- It serves as a means of documenting cultural history and ways of life
- It raises the profile of urban problems in the cities as a means to encourage intervention
- It provides information that will enable the understanding of how and why the cities are changing thereby enabling informed and effective intervention

- And it can contribute in suggesting directions for intervention in the management of the cities

All the traditional Hausa cities that have survived to the present time as large metropolitan areas to a different extent share the characteristics associated with growth and change outlined above. The choice of Zaria as a case to be studied was dictated by several considerations. Zaria displays all the classic symptoms outlined above. Zaria appears to be currently growing rapidly, with growth exacerbating urban problems and resulting in the loss of traditional character. The city is, however, a late starter to the process of rapid transformation and so still retains elements of its traditional character. This makes it a good case study that links traditional patterns with rapid transformation and forces shaping transformation. The city also suffers from a manifest problem of poor intervention and management of urban development. The city is therefore in need of informed intervention to ensure that elements of its traditional character are respected and preserved. The city is also one of the least studied of the Hausa cities, thereby making it a good candidate for documentary research. Information from the study of Zaria can be applicable to the other Hausa cities because of its late start to the process of rapid growth. At a personal level, the researcher is most familiar with the city, and the city is the most convenient to access and study for the research.

The choice of focus on public space in the research is dictated by its importance in the development of cities and also by the perception of a gap in research on Zaria in particular and the traditional Hausa cities in general. Public spaces are an important component of urban fabrics. The spaces provide the arena for socialization and social reproduction in non-familial settings. They also provide a context where the ideational content of a culture are translated into activities and behavior. Public spaces capture and reflect the historical development of societies. The spaces are ultimately an important element in the functioning and image content of cities. The spaces are, therefore, an important issue of concern in the planning and management of urban development. A review of the academic literature indicates that academic researchers have had some interest in the Hausa cities for a long time. This interest has, however, been heavily biased towards the private domain of the house and the architecture and buildings of the people. Works by Moughtin (1985), Denyer (1978) Kirk-Greene (1961), Schwerdtfeger (1971;1982), Moughtin (1988) Saad (1981) and Prussin (1968; 1974) have substantially documented information about the

architecture and buildings of the Hausa people. Urquhart (1977) appears to be the work that is most substantially focused on urban issues. The work is, however, limited in scope because of its broader treatment of the cities. Examination of the literature therefore points to an existing gap in the understanding of the Hausa cities. It is this gap, coupled with the importance of public space that has led to the choice of focus in the research.

1.3 The Aim and Objectives of the Research

The aim of the research is to examine change in the public space of Traditional Hausa Cities over the period 1804 to 2004 AD, with Zaria as a case study. The main questions that the research seeks to investigate are; what changes have taken place in Zaria's public space in the period 1804 to 2004 and why have the changes taken place in the way they did? In order to address the research questions, a five-dimensional approach to public space was adopted. Public space is viewed as material space with a social and symbolic dimension, situated within a cultural setting with both public space and cultural setting in a process of dynamic change with time. The identification of change focuses on examining and identifying variations in the material, social, and symbolic patterns of public space with time. The explanation of change in public space focuses on establishing a link between observed changes in public space with broader cultural transformation as is manifested in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society. The scope of the research is limited to addressing specific questions outlined in the methodology in chapter three.

In line with the aim outlined, the specific objectives of the research are to:

1. Examine how public space has changed physically in terms of types of public spaces, morphological organization, production and management and amenity value
2. Examine how public space has changed socially in terms of the social character of public space, social activities and patterns of daily biography of public space
3. Examine how public space has changed symbolically in terms of the significance of public places and attachments to them, group connections and identity, Values and symbols in public space and the role of religion in social life
4. Examine and identify the broad pattern of cultural transformation in Zaria over the period of interest.
5. Examine and identify how cultural forces combine to shape and account for changes observed in Zaria's public space

6. Examine the implication of current trends of change for the future of the city
7. Make appropriate recommendations to improve the management of change and transformation in Zaria's urban and public space

1.4 The Research Approach and Method

Apart from the objectives outlined above, the approach and methodology of the research has also been influenced by several motivations that seek to situate it within the broader academic research context. One of these motivations is the perception of bias in the examination and understanding of public spaces in favour of western practices in the general academic literature. This is reflected in the predominance of public space theories that are almost exclusively reflective of western models and practices. This perception of bias has informed the choice of Zaria as a non western setting for the study. In addition, it has also led to recognition of the situation of public space practices within cultural settings and ways of life, defined in the broadest sense to include such issues as geography, history, resources, and social and symbolic traditions. The examination of public space within a situated cultural context is viewed as a means for not only understanding practices, but also of seeking explanations for such practices within the domain of the culture that frames practice. Such an approach has the capacity to facilitate cross cultural studies and comparison of public space beyond the examination of practices to the comparison of broader cultural settings that frames the practices.

Another motivation in the approach to the study is the need to move beyond the traditional disciplinary approach in the examination of phenomena. Disciplines have traditionally defined their research interest within narrow bounds. Urban and public spaces have been subjected to such disciplinary divides in interest with the social science disciplines differentiating their points of interest from the normative design disciplines. Recently, such disciplinary divides have started crumbling as the inter-relatedness of issues and disciplines is recognized and multi-disciplinary approach to the examination of phenomena is promoted. This research seeks to contribute to the trend by adopting a multi-disciplinary approach. It seeks in this regard to contribute to the development of a framework that facilitates a broader cross disciplinary approach to the examination of public space..

The approach to the research follows a series of steps outlined in Figure 1.1. The study started with a broad literature review to establish its conceptual and methodological bases.

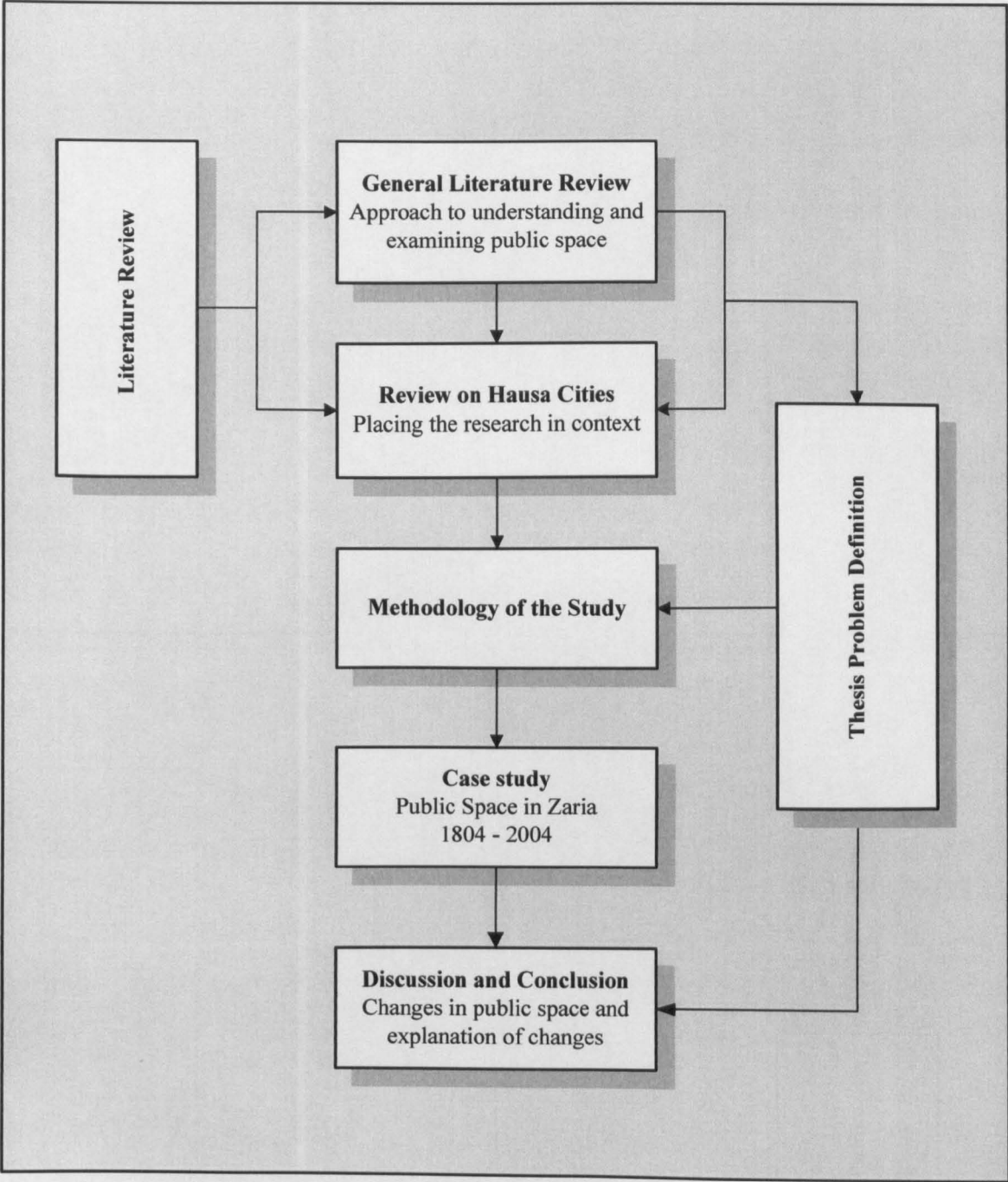


Figure 1.1: Outline of the approach to the research

Parallel to that, a literature review on the Hausa cities was also initiated to understand the context for the research. The reviews led to a definition of the research problem and approach and its associated methods and techniques. The research adopted a broad five-dimensional approach to the conception of public space as outlined in Section 1.2. Based on the approach to public space, the research developed a model that dynamically linked culture, to public space production, use and transformation. Based on the model, an

operational framework of issues and questions was formulated to facilitate the examination, identification and explanation of change in Zaria's public space. The framework was applied to the case study to achieve the study objectives. In line with the history of Zaria, the examination of public space was undertaken divided into three periods; the Jihad Period (1804-1904), the Colonial Period (1904-1960) and the Post-Colonial Period (1960-2004). Concerns about the availability of data, its reliability and appropriateness led to the combination of documentary research and fieldwork methods. A field work was undertaken in July 2003. Data was collected to facilitate both the conceptualization of cultural transformation in the city as well as the identification of change in public space. The analysis of collected data led to the identification of change by periods and subsequently by dimensions of public space. The analysis of the historical and cultural setting of the different periods led to a formulation of the pattern of cultural transformation and its manifestation as changes in the political social, economic, and symbolic ways of life. Forces and factors associated with changes in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society formed the basis for the explanation of change in public space over the study period.

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

The dissertation is structurally organized into nine chapters. Chapter one introduces the traditional Hausa cities and lays out its basic parameters, including the problems addressed by the research, its aims and objectives and the research approach. Chapter two presents a literature review focused on conceptual issues and those of approach to public space examination. Chapter three presents the approach and methodology of the research. Chapter four situates public space in its historical and cultural context by reviewing the broader cultural setting of the traditional Hausa cities and the historical, cultural and spatial setting of Zaria's public space. Chapters five six, and seven explored change in Zaria's public space in terms of the three dimensions of physical, social and symbolic respectively. Chapter eight examines cultural transformation in Zaria to identify forces shaping change and links these forces with changes observed in public space to derive explanations of why public space is changing and evolving in the way it is. Chapter nine presents the findings and conclusions of the research, as well as observations and recommendations on the management of change in the urban space of Zaria. The chapter also highlights the implication of the research in terms of methodology and also of conceptual and theoretical approach to public space.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING AND EXAMINING URBAN PUBLIC SPACE

*Thirty spokes converge upon a single hub;
It is on the hole in the center that the use of the car hinges*

*We make a vessel from a lump of clay;
It is the empty space within the vessel that makes it useful*

*We make doors and windows for a room;
But it is the empty space that makes the room livable*

*Thus while the tangible has advantages;
It is the intangible that makes it useful
(Lao Tzu c. 550 B. C. in Van de ven 1980, p.3)*

2.0 Introduction

The chapter presents a literature review aimed at rooting the understanding of public space and the approach to its examination within the academic literature. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section reviews the concepts of space and urban space for a broader understanding of the research subject. The second section examine approaches to the conception of urban public space. The last section reviews some relevant approaches to the examination of urban public space, including identifying the disciplinary and theoretical bases of the approaches. The chapter conclusion points the way forward in approaching the task of formulating an approach for the study

2.1 The Concept of Space and Urban Space

2.1.1 The Concept of Space

Space, as a concept, has being an object of divergent and evolutionary understanding throughout history. The attempt to define and understand it has been an issue of profound intellectual activity since antiquity (Van de Ven 1980). The conception and understanding of space has changed in response to the prevailing understanding of the world. Five perspectives appear as distinct markers in the evolution of the understanding of space. The first perspective expounded by Aristotle outlined a theory of space that is synonymous with place. He conceived of space as the sum total of all places occupied by bodies and, place, conversely, as that part of space whose limits coincides with the limits of the occupying body (Jammer 1969, p.17). "Everything," according to Aristotle, "is somewhere, that is in a place. A place or space cannot have a body" (Van de ven 1980, p.17).⁵ Newton challenged

this conception, when he theorized that space and time are real things, “as places as well of themselves as of all other things (Madanipour 1996, p.5).” The theory held space and time as containers of infinite extension or duration. Within them, the whole succession of natural events in the world finds a place and was not a matter of their relations to changes of other objects (Madanipour, 1996).⁶

Newton’s conception of space though widely accepted, was subsequently challenged by other philosophers, the most prominent being Leibniz. Leibniz developed a relationist theory of space, viewing space as nothing but a system of relations between coexisting things, devoid of metaphysical or ontological existence (Jammer 1969, p.117; Van de ven 1980, p.35). Kant, however, rejected both the Newtonian theory of absolute space and Leibniz’s relationist theory of space, saying that space “does not represent any property of things in themselves, nor does it represent them in their relations with one another... (cited in Jammer 1969, p.138).” He advocates an intuitive theory of space, in which “Space was not a general notion of things, nor was it based on a sensory-perceptible data, but it belonged exclusively to the world of thought” (cited in Van de ven 1980, p.35).⁷ Einstein, in advancing the fifth perspective at the beginning of the last century, rejected the concept of space and time as absolute entities and introduced the theories of special and general relativity. Einstein’s theory proposed a field theory of space based on the concept of a four-dimensional space-time continuum. The space aspect of real things, according to his theory, is then completely represented by a field, which depends on four coordinate-parameters. He further points out that “if we think of the field as being removed, there is no ‘space’ which remains, since space does not have an independent existence” (cited in Jammer 1969, p.174).

Examination of the five historical perspectives reveals some fundamental questions or dilemmas regarding the true nature of space: is space a container or is it the product of relationship between material objects? What is the relationship of space to place or are they synonymous? Does space have a metaphysical existence of itself or is it the product of human intuition, a mental creation of the mind? What is the relationship of space to time? There is also the additional question of whether the perspectives provide autonomous explanations and understanding of space, or whether they are complementary ways of looking at the same thing? Commenting on the perspectives, Van de ven (1980, p. 46) suggest that they all have general cultural implications particularly for disciplines that

operate at the social scale and at the level of human habitation. How then do these perspectives facilitate an approach to the conception of urban and public space?

2.1.2 The Concept of Urban Space

Dilemmas regarding the true nature of space are also reflected in the conception and understanding of urban space in the academic literature. The dilemmas are also additionally confounded by differences in the approach and usage of concepts across disciplinary divides. The situation can be appreciated by examining the approach of disciplines principally concerned with space, including architecture, planning, geography, sociology, which can be broadly classified into the social science and the design disciplines.

In architecture, as an example of the design disciplines, the approach to the understanding of space is viewed as an aid to its normative organization, albeit in a physical way. Space is therefore conceived as “something pre-existent and unlimited”, a positive entity within which the traditional categories of tectonic form and surfaces occurred” (Calquhoun, 1989, cited Madanipour 1996, p.9). Urban Space is conceived on the other hand as the corporeal voids of the city as distinct from the solid masses (Krier 1979, p.15; Zevi 1957, p.30).⁸ In Geography, as an example of the social science disciplines, the approach to space focuses on location and relationships or spatiality. The approach has changed with time in concert with changes in the focus and methods of social inquiry (Massey 1985, p.9; Madanipour, 1996, p.26-27). Focus has shifted from emphasis on physical aspects of space as in morphology and the search for universal spatial laws to social and cognitive aspects of space (Saarinen and Sell 1980, p. 531; Tuan 1977, p.5 -7; Lagopoulos, 1993, p.265-6). Urban space from a geographic perspective is taken as the space of the city. This is usually viewed as a social space, created by people who use and value it, and where objects and social institutions and forms are manifested spatially (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p. 8).⁹

The dilemma in the conception of space and urban space leads Madanipour (1996, p.29) to asked "what is the space of urban design, amid these dilemmas and fragmentations in the conceptions of space? Which side of these dilemmas should we identify with if we are to engage in designing and shaping urban space?" Madanipour (1996, p.29) goes on to point out that "it is only in a fragmented, static concept of space that we see social processes as separate from the physical and mental space." A recent trend towards cross disciplinary approaches in research appears to be resolving the dilemma through a broader definition of

the concept of urban space that recognizes its multiple dimensions. Madanipour (1996), for example, adopts a definition of urban space that encompasses "all the buildings, objects, and spaces in an urban environment, as well as the people, events and relationships within them." In furtherance of the trend, he proposes a socio-spatial approach to urban space built on three notions (Madanipour 1996, p. 87):

1. The first notion is that "urban space is the material space with its social and psychological dimensions, ..." This notion, according to him, requires that "our map of the city has to have overlapping layers to show its physical, social and psychological geometry at the same time", to bridge the gap across disciplines and enable dialogue on space, and would be consistent with socio-spatial approaches in social philosophy, urban geography, urban sociology, and architecture, which address the three dimensions simultaneously and focus on the dynamic interrelationship of these aspects;
2. The second notion specifies that to understand urban space, we need to look at it both from above and from below; from above where systems of power shape the built environment and inquiry offers an objective view, and from below where the focus is on the everyday life and social practices that endow space with meaning; and
3. The third notion states that understanding urban space with all its dimensions is best made possible by tracing the process of its development. Tracing this process of development, makes it possible, according to Madanipour (1996, p.88) to relate the physical geometry of urban space with its social and symbolic geometries.

Madanipour's sociospatial approach essentially recognises urban space as having a multi-dimensional nature.

2.2 The Concept of Urban Public Space

2.2.1 The Meaning of Public Space

Public space, like space and urban space, is also the subject of competing understanding. Mitchell (1996, p.127-8) observes that "it is not clear what public space actually is". The ambiguities in the conception of public space are many, according to him, and includes "as a place, an idea, an ideal, and a contested concept." This competing understanding is evident in definitions and discussion of public space in the academic literature, and does suggest that public space has a multi-dimensional nature similar to space and urban space.

Examination of the literature along with consideration of the socio-spatial approach appears to indicate five applicable dimensions; physical, social, symbolic, cultural and historical. The five dimensions provide a framework for further exploration of the nature of public space.

2.2.2 The Dimensions of Public Space

2.2.2.1 The Physical Dimension

The approach to public space from a physical dimension in the literature is focused on its understanding as created material space for specific functions or social activities. The 'space' in public space arises from the demarcation of territory in urban space to mark out spaces that are public from ones that are private (Mitchell 1996, p.128; Scruton 1987, p.15). Public spaces have been defined from a physical perspective as: "...the material location where social interactions and political activities of all members of the 'public' occur" (Mitchell, 1995, p.115-6); "the stage upon which the drama of community life unfolds" (Carr et. al. 1992, p.3); "open, publicly accessible places where people go for group or individual activities" (Carr et al 1992, p.50); and "the common ground where people carryout the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities" (Carr et al, 1992). Among issues that feature in discussions of public space from a physical perspective are typologies of public spaces and their function, morphological organization of the public spaces, and the issue of ownership, management and control, particularly in lieu of the current trend towards public space privatization.

2.2.2.1.1 Typology of Public Spaces

Closely associated with attempts to define public spaces in the literature is the emphasis on their typological classification. The most apparent and common system of classification is by function. Focus is usually on the identification of the different types of urban public spaces, the evolution of the space typologies, and examination of their function for people. Typologies of public spaces prominently cited include streets, boulevards, commons and squares, markets, religious spaces and community parks (Carr et al 1992; Tibbalds, 1991, p.1; Krier 1979, p.17).¹⁰ The spaces serve as channels for movement, nodes of communication, common ground for play and relaxation, sports, places for religion, politics, commerce, and generally for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter (Walzer, 1986, p.470; Carr 1992; Mitchell, 1995; Krier 1979, p.17). Public spaces are also

typologically classified by the nature of their enclosure. From an enclosure perspective, the spaces are classified as either open spaces, which are not enclosed, and connected to form the network of open public areas in urban space or enclosed public spaces, which includes spaces such as religious and commercial facilities with substantially freely accessible public areas (Carmona et al 2003, p.111; Scruton, 1987, p.16).¹¹

2.2.2.1.2 Morphological Organization

The focus on public space from a morphological perspective is on issues such as shape and form (i.e. 2 and 3-dimensional properties), structure and organization, and enclosure patterns. In two-dimension, focus of analysis is usually on land use, urban block and street patterns, and the structural organization of spaces into a network. In the third dimension, focus of analysis is usually on Buildings and enclosure patterns and treatments, and the 'setting' of places (Carmona, et al, 2003, p.61-70). Carmona et al (2003, p. 61) identifies two types of predominant urban space systems; traditional and modernist. Traditional urban space consist of buildings as part of urban blocks, where the blocks define and enclose urban open space, while modernist space typically consist of free standing buildings in open space or landscape setting. Krier (1979), who promotes a traditional approach to the physical organization of public space, categorizes the shape of urban spaces into three main groups based on the square, circle and triangle. He further goes on to identify the different forms of boundary configurations and their treatment. Combining the shape categories with the boundary configurations, he developed a typological model of public spaces. The individual spaces, according to him, are organized into a compound public space morphologically organized in two and three dimensions. Trancik (1986) also advances a normative theory of urban design that appears consistent with the postulations of Krier (1979), based on the three aspects of figure ground, linkage, and place. 'Figure ground' addresses the two dimensional shape of space, 'linkage' concentrates on the structural organization of open spaces into a united whole, and the 'place theory' concentrates on the functions of the open spaces and their linkage to their immediate context. The question of scale is an important issue arising from the morphological examination of public space. Ruddick (1996, p.140) observes that public space is usually thought of as a local phenomenon. He, however, observes that in reality, it is constituted at "different sets of articulated scales."¹²

As highlighted earlier, public space is created space that arises from territorial organization. A critical aspect in the conception of public space is the issue of boundary and rights to public space. Public spaces are usually conceived as spaces with permissible boundaries. Public space from this perspective has been defined as the "...unconstrained space... where a properly behaved public might experience the spectacle of the city" (Mitchell 1995, p. 115-6), and as "all the parts of the urban fabric to which the public have physical and visual access (Tibbalds 1992, p.1). The rights of physical and visual access are among the inherent rights of the public in public space (Carr et al 1992, p.137). The exercise of such rights however depend to a great extent on the nature of the boundaries that define public space. The difference between public and private space lies in the permeability of boundaries. The boundaries of public space are one "into which anyone may enter, and from which anyone may depart, without the consent of strangers, and without any declaration – however tacit – of a justifying purpose" (Scruton 1987, p.15). The boundaries are thus "both permeable and open to our public uses" and their purpose is to "remain open to all life that may legitimately claim their protection" (Scruton, 1987, p.15-6). From a boundary dimension, the spaces are usually classified either as public spaces, which offer freedom of access and activities, or as quasi-public spaces which are public spaces subject to some form of control (Carmona 2003, p.111).¹³

2.2.2.1.3 Ownership, Control and Management

A fundamental issue of concern in discussions of public space concerns its ownership and management and the nature of control that is applied in this management. Definitions of public space traditionally view it as being controlled and managed in the public interest by public agencies (Madanipour, 1996, p.148). Drummond (2000, p. 2379), for example, defines Public space as "the space 'out there' which belongs to the whole community, although regulated by prevailing social and legal norms." Public Authorities as agents of the 'public' play a fundamental role in the provision of resources for public use, including public space. Public authorities usually plan, provide and manage public spaces. They also establish the rules that mediate between competing interests in the use of the spaces. Trends in the control and production of public space have, however, recently been shifting in favour of private interest (Madanipour, 2003, p.149). This is a result of change that has seen the sphere of public control contract and that of private interest expand. The result has been the commodification of space and its increasing privatization and integration into the international financial system. Manifestations of this trend are seen in private developments

being "created with a degree of private control over the supposedly public space" (Madanipour 1996, p.148). The practice, Mitchell (1995, p.109) observes, is leading to "two contested models of public space; public space as unregulated space for disorderly action, and public space as a space of spectacle, where an orderly public may engage in activities to conform to specific norms or value." The trend raises issues of control in relation to access and inclusion, and is viewed as accounting for the decline in public space practices of contemporary western society.

2.2.2.2 The Social Dimension

From a social dimension, focus in the conception of public space is on the people who create and use the spaces. The focus arises from the perspective that public spaces are socially created, function to meet the needs of people and also express social forms of societies. Four issues stand out in the focus on public space from a social dimension: the origin of the concept in social practices; examination of who constitutes the public, including addressing issues of access, social inclusion and exclusion; activities, interaction and socialization in public space; and the ideal of public space as the public sphere.

2.2.2.2.1 The Concept of the Public and Private in Social Life

As socially created space, the origin of public space is traced in the literature to the public and private division of social life that is reflected in material urban space (Carr, 1992, Mitchell 1996, Madanipour 1996, p.144). Public space is viewed as "space we share with strangers, people who aren't our relatives, friends, or work associates" (Walzer 1986, p. 470), in contradistinction to the private domain where personal encounters prevail. On the same issue, Carr et al (1992, p.22), have observed that "examples of individuals living largely private or asocial lives throughout history have been the exceptions rather than the rule", and further pointed out that "Most, if not all settlements of people establish public and private spheres, areas with differing degrees of privacy and publicness."¹⁴ Mitchell (1996, p.128), commenting on the issue, notes that "for most of us it is a world selectively public and private: a world in which there are spaces in which unstructured, but not threatening encounters 'remain' possible, where there is always room to have one's voice heard and one's demonstration (or other performance) seen before retreating to a more private realm in which encounters are structured according to our own dictates." Scruton (1987, p.14), also points out that in private, "a man is his own master, within the limits prescribed for him by morality and law." In contrast, he points out that the public is a

“sphere of broad and largely unplanned encounter. No individual is sovereign in this sphere, but each on entering it, renounces the right to dictate the terms upon which he communes and conflicts with others” (Scruton, 1987, p. 14).¹⁵

Benn and Gauss (1983, p. 7-13), have suggested that the distinctiveness between the publicness and the privateness of social life is part of a conceptual framework that organizes action in a social environment. They have identified three dimensions of this framework, access, agency and interest, through which the concept structures social life and organizes societies. Access relates to the way agents have access - physical and to resources and information, the nature of access, and right to influence the access of others and manipulate the state of affairs. Agency deals with the status of agents, whether acting in private on own account or as an officer of the community. Interest addresses the issue of the ultimate beneficiaries of regulations and operations, whether private or public. The distinction between the public and private helps societies to, according to Benn and Gauss (1983), structure social life regarding access, agency and interest, through institutions and norms and to order social life in a continuum from more public to more private.

2.2.2.2.2 Inclusion, Exclusion and the Concept of the 'Public'

A key component in the conception of public space is the concept of the 'public'. The Cassel's Concise English Dictionary defines 'public' as “pertaining to or affecting the people as a whole, opposite to personal or private; open to use and enjoyment of all, not restricted to any class”. The concept of 'public' in public space embodies a universal ideal of access and participation. This ideal is reflected in definitions of public space in the literature. Goheen (1998, p.479) defines public space as “the visible and accessible venue wherein the public – comprising institutions and citizens acting in concert – enact rituals and make claims designed to win recognition”. Tibbalds (1992, p.1) defines the public realm as “all the parts of the urban fabric to which the public have physical and visual access”. The ideal of universal access embodied in the conception of public space, raises the issue of diversity, inclusion and exclusion in the reality of public space practices. The consensus from the academic literature appears to be that in reality access to public space is not universal. Public space is sometimes presented as a space of exclusion. Exclusion in public space occurs along gender, race, class, and age lines (Ruddick, 1996, p.133; Mitchell 1996, p.128). On gender exclusion, Ruddick (1996, p.135) points out that “City space has been gendered in a way that tends to exclude women from the public realm, or to

include them only in highly scripted and delimited roles. Feminist theoreticians are particularly critical of the concept, seeing it as a socially constructed patriarchal division, with public associated with men and masculinity, and private associated with women and femininity (McDowell 1999, in Drummond 2000, p.2377-80). Homeless people are another group denied claim to public spaces. For many homeless persons public space is far safer and more comfortable than the shelters provided for them, yet they are often not welcomed as users (Carr et al, 1992, p.168). Carr et al (1992, p.137) in summarizing the situation, notes that "in examining a variety of parks, plazas, and other spaces, it becomes apparent that different degrees of freedom and control exist in different situations. The precise balance between these two factors at a particular time is dependent on a number of factors, including the norms and behaviors of the individuals and groups using the space and the design and management of the space." The trend towards the privatization of public space in western societies, is contributing towards greater control and exclusivity.

2.2.2.2.3 Social Activities and Interactions in Public Space

Public space is ultimately the location for community social life.¹⁶ This function of public space is reflected in the emphasis on activities and interaction in definitions of public space. Walzer (1986, p.470), for example, views public space as "space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter" Tibbalds (1992, p.1) also states that public space is the place "where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place". It is generally accepted that for most people, parts of the day are distributed over public spheres in different activities related to sustenance or of a primarily social or cultural nature. These activities are organized around individual and group routines, and include moving to and from work, shopping, recreation, cultural and ritual activities, affiliation with group and engagement in political activism. Summarizing these attributes of public space, Thrift (1985 cited Knox & Pinch, 2000, p. 259) points out that we live "in and through places... , a setting for social interaction that, among other things: structures the daily routines of economic and social life; structures people's life path, providing them with both opportunities and constraints; provides an arena in which everyday, 'common-sense' knowledge and experience is gathered; provides a site for processes of socialization and social reproduction; and provides an arena for contesting social norms".

2.2.2.2.4 The Ideal of Public Space as the Public Sphere

The 'public sphere theory' is a theory closely associated with public space. Key advocates of the theory include Hannah Arendt, Jurgen Habermas, and the Liberal Tradition. The public sphere is presented as a "sphere which mediates between society and state, and in which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion (Eley 1992, p.290).¹⁷ The theory embodies the concept "of a body of 'private persons' assembled to discuss matters of 'public concern' or 'common interest'... These publics aim to mediate between the society and the state by holding the state accountable to society via publicity. ...requiring that information about state functioning be made accessible so that state activities would be subject to critical scrutiny and the force of public opinion" (Fraser 1999 p.521).¹⁸ Public space and public sphere are often used interchangeably, suggesting that they are synonymous (Mitchell 1996, p.127), or public space is sometimes presented as the material aspect of the public sphere, or the public sphere is presented as an ideal of public space.¹⁹ Reports in the literature show that the public sphere is not necessarily played out in public space and that public spheres and public spaces do not often map neatly into one another (Drummond 2000, p.2379-80).

2.2.2.3 The Symbolic Dimension

The conception of public space from a symbolic perspective focuses on the meanings, connections, behaviours and attitudes that people develop through participation in the social life of communities in public spaces. From this perspective, Carr et al (1992 p.187) point out that "public space experiences yield meaning that accrue over time, and if these are positive meanings they will lead to connections that go beyond the immediate experience of a setting." Public space is also defined from a symbolic perspective as space "which the public collectively values – space to which it attributes symbolic significance and asserts claim" (Goheen 1998, p.479). Interest in the subject started in the 1960s with concern focused on environmental perception and cognition. The seminal work in this regard is Kevin Lynch's (1960) *Image of the city*, which used mental mapping techniques to explore the images of Boston and Jersey held by the city's residents. Work on perception and cognition, with its emphasis on physical attributes of place, has since given way to interest in meanings and connections to places. Two main issues appear to be the focus of interest in the conception of public space from a symbolic dimension; the systems of meanings and connections in urban space and the process of developing such meanings and connections.²⁰

2.2.2.3.1 Systems of Meanings and Connections in Public Space

Examination of the academic literature suggests two inter-related and reinforcing systems of meanings and connections in urban space; to places and to social and cultural groups. People in general need links to the world and these are partly provided by the spaces people inhabit and the activities occurring in the spaces. As Carr et al (1992, p.198) observe, "As individuals, all our activities are place-based and our contacts and interactions that constitute interpersonal experience are grounded in settings. As people grow, they develop links with spaces and settings, which develop special meanings and help to develop a sense of continuity between the different stages of a person's life". Participation in community social life therefore leads to the development of meaning and connection to spaces, which ultimately contributes to defining the identity of individuals and social groups. The terms "spatial identity" and "place identity" have been advanced by Fried (1963) and Proshansky (1978) to describe the role that spaces play in the development of people's sense of themselves and their own personal identities. The level of importance or significance of urban places and the connection to them vary between different users as well as with periods in the life cycle of the individual users.

Participation in community social life entails social encounters, interaction and engagement in activities with other people that leads to the formation of social groups. Public life in this respect is recognized as "an integral part of the formation and continuation of social groups" (Carr et al 1992, p.23). Public space, as the setting for social life, serves as the location where individuals come into contact with groups, or people meet and form groups, thus giving their lives meaning and power. Connection to groups in public space also contributes to enhancing and shaping the experience of place and the formation of spatial identity from a group perspective. On the issue, Carr et al (1992, p. 205) further observe that "group connections can be facilitated by physical attributes of the site, and in the same way, a community or subculture may wish to preserve physical elements that have, over a period of decades or centuries, supported and symbolized a certain way of life and systems of belief." Public spaces also serve to foster connections at a larger scale, among members of a culture. Carr et al in this respect (1992, p.187 & 207) point out that public space enables people to establish links to "a valued group, to a whole culture and its history, economic, and politics or symbolically to the universe or other worlds. ..." and also "fosters connection among members of a culture". Adoption of cultural ways of life in the form of values, norms and materials objects is one way through which connection to

cultural groups is evident in public space. As connected members of cultural groups, people in public space participate in both reproducing and producing the practices of their cultural groups. Citizens, as Goheen (1998, p.479) points out, "create meaningful public space by expressing their attitude" and "asserting their claims" to it. In asserting their claim they sometimes work within the norms, rules, behaviours, attitudes, and other cultural practices that assert the prevailing social order, while at other times engaging in activities that challenge the existing order thereby producing new forms of cultural practices.

2.2.2.3.2 The Process of Developing Meanings and Connections

The Process of developing meaning and connections in public space is presented in the literature as "an interactive process between space and persons that evolves over time" (Carr et al, 1992, p.233). The process is believed to be transactional and to impact both user and setting, with the space providing a set of stimulations while users bring their own histories and associations. Tuan (1980, p.6) commenting on the process, observes that "connections to places require experiences that enable the development of a sense of rootedness." This he describes as "an unreflected state of being in which the human personality merges with the milieu." Further commenting on the process, Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983, p.59) note that it is "largely a product of social relations, it consists of cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define day-to-day existence of every human being."

The development of connection to places is hinged on having a relationship with the places involved. Meanings result when such places resonate with peoples' lives and evoke patterns of use that create bonds with spaces. For a space to become meaningful, and for people to develop connections to it, Carr et al (1992, p.187-93) has identified a number of requirements which it must meet. The space must first be legible. Legibility requires that the space has recognizable cues that communicate to potential users. It must also resonate with peoples lives and evoke patterns that create bonds with the space. The site must have relevance for people. Connections emerge when places have relevance – at the level of the individual it must satisfy a need, and at the level of the culture, it must be congruent with cultural norms and practices (Carr et al, 1992, p.190). The space must also be comfortable

to use and must facilitate a positive connection. Connections are not always however positive. The example of crime and women in public space is a critical example of a non positive connection.²¹ Repeated direct experience is also required, except in situations where symbolic connection has been established through other means such as imagery, ethnic or spiritual association (Carr et al, 1992, p.233). Meanings and connections to space do not remain the same over time. They change as the spaces and their functions change, as the context and the neighborhood changes. Over time, settings can become more or less important to people, or more or less meaningful as they play different roles in the people's lives, or drop out completely. (Carr et. al., 1992, p.234)

2.2.2.4 The Cultural Dimension

The conception of public space from a cultural dimension focuses on the role that social culture plays in shaping social life and public space practices in particular locations.²² Approaching public space from a cultural perspective is synonymous with viewing it from above where the focus is on group properties and where the systems of power shapes the built environment and the everyday social life it supports. A review of the literature highlights the fundamental role that culture plays in shaping place practices, thereby providing a tool to examine and explain practices. There is a general agreement in the literature that the concepts of publicness and privateness are operational in relation to cultural environments (Benn & Gauss, 1983, p.5; Carr et al, 1992, p.3). The application of the concepts is viewed as necessarily presupposing the existence of some particular contextual norms and values, and the resulting domains as reflecting the "degrees of recognition of the needs, rights and quest for meaning " by members of a cultural group (Carr et al, 1992, p.22). Culture, as a structural imperative, provides the norms and values that orders social action and society. Carr et al (1992, p.23) in this regard, observe that "each culture has its own public-private profile, which emerges from a complex set of factors, the interaction of physical, social, political, and economic realities." They also point out that each culture maintains a dynamic balance between private and public activities with the balance shifting with time under the influence of cultural exchange, technology, political and economic systems and the ethos of the time. Two relevant issues have been identified in the discussions of public space from a cultural perspective in the research literature; the first is focused on establishing the relationship of social culture to created space and the second addresses the issue of the universality of the application of the concept of 'public space'. The two issues are reviewed further in the following sections.

2.2.2.4.1 The Relationship of Social Culture to Public Space

Knox and Pinch (2000, p.54-63) presents an outline of a framework that establishes the relationship of culture to space. According to the framework, culture is recognized as a social construct, which may best be thought of as consisting of ways of life with three important inter-related elements; values, norms and material artefacts. The material aspect of a culture, such as its city structures and landscapes, provide clues about its value system. The material artefacts are guided by the notion of intentionality, meaning that objects do not have a meaning in themselves, but only acquire meaning through the use that people put them to. Thus the material artefacts can serve as 'text', from which values and practices can be deduced and vice versa. Cultures are, thus, built around shared understanding or discourses. Through these discourses, members of a particular culture are able to read the semiotics of the landscape associated with that culture, thereby participating in the symbolic process of communication. The dominant values of a culture are not, however, produced by a single discourse, but rather by numerous discourses on different subjects built around factors such as class, age, occupation, gender, sexuality, nationality and so on. The dominant values resulting from these discourses are often resisted and challenged by many groups. The identities resulting from the intersection of the many subject positions in the discourses are also continually changing, unfixed, and vary over time and space. These identities also depend on the significant 'othering' to which comparison is being made. The concept of culture is therefore a social construct.

Space plays a crucial role in the formation of culture. Space like culture is also a social construct and is intimately bound up with power and authority. The focus on space as a social construct arises from the recent trend towards understanding and discovering the structural laws underlying the production and functioning of spatial phenomena. Jackson and Smith (1984, p.144) in this regard point out that "there can be no specific theory of space; rather space is one realization of social form and must be defined in terms of social structure." Castells (2003, p 4) on the same issue, observes that space cannot be considered independent of social relationship and to do so is "to separate nature from culture". Spatial forms are therefore produced by human action and "will express and perform the interest of the dominant class" (Castell, 2003, p.9). Structures in space therefore mirror the power relations that prevail in a particular cultural order. Castells (1977, p.126) further points out that "to analyze space as an expression of social structure amounts, therefore to studying its shaping by the elements of the economic system, the political system, and the ideological

system." The 'power' element in social relations is viewed not just as "some external force that makes people do something against their will, but as a crucial component in daily life that helps to construct the ordinary everyday action of people" (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p.59).

Cities provide an example of the relationship between space, power and culture (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p.60). City spaces are usually spaces of inclusion and exclusion based on different criteria. Public spaces are in theory, for example, supposed to be areas where people have free access. In reality, people are excluded from such spaces because they do not conform to certain norms or expectations. City spaces therefore serve to reinforce cultures because the patterns of behaviour expected within them reflect particular cultural values. Exclusion is therefore crucial to the creation of landscape and space. Power is expressed through the monopolization of spaces by some groups and the exclusion of certain weaker groups to other spaces. In this way, dominant power relations in society become visible while less powerful groups are marked out as 'others'.

Spaces serve not only to provide arena where particular cultural values are expressed, but also serve to form and shape these distinctive cultural values. Soja (1985, p.90) in this regard, has pointed out that "spatiality situates social life in an active arena, where purposeful human agency jostles problematically with tendencial social determinations to shape everyday activity..." and "to be alive is to participate in the social production of space, to shape and be shaped by a constantly evolving spatiality, which constitutes and concretises social action and relationship." Space is therefore not just a passively determined realization of social structure, but also plays an active role in the production and reproduction of structures in society. Space and culture are, in essence, mutually constitutive in a dialectic way. Events in space and the power relations they express are not isolated but linked to actions and events in other spaces. Massey notes that "We need to conceptualize space as constructed out of a set of interrelationships, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelationships and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local to the most global" (Massey, 1992:80). There are counter arguments that seems to suggest that the link between culture and territory is being broken by the process of globalization (Robins, 1991 in Knox and Pinch, 2000, p.63). This view holds that mass media and telecommunication technologies are enabling trans-national corporations to impose what is termed as 'abstract electronic space' across pre-existing cultural forms, creating room for common shared cultural experiences on a global scale.

2.2.2.4.2 The Universal Applicability of the Concept of "Public Space"

There is an apparent conception in some sources that the prevalent understanding of the public-private organization of urban life and of public space practices in the research literature is mainly reflective of western societies (Huang & Yeoh, 1996, p.105; Drummond, 2000, p.2377). Some have criticised the definition of the concept by western scholars as being inaccurate for many non western societies (Coles and Mack, 1991, p.12). Leontidou (1996, p.180) goes further to criticise many western urban theories, pointing out that they capture local narratives and present them as grand universalizing theories, while in fact totally unrepresentative of situations in southern cities. Others have suggested that the concepts of public and private are only relevant in a western setting. Drummond (2000, p.2377), for example, views the concepts as "profoundly important organizing concepts in the social life of Western. Societies" He further states that public and private "...tend to be used in ways which refer exclusively to western understanding and experiences (Drummond, 2000, p.2379)." Carr et al (1992:3), appears, to hold a contrary view, arguing that all societies have a "dynamic balance between public and private activities" and that within this balance, "different cultures place differing emphasis on public space. Moreover, Carr et al (1992, p.22) observes that "examples of individuals living largely private asocial lives throughout history have been the exceptions rather than the rule." Benn and Gauss (1983, p. 23) also point out that "it is hard to imagine a culture, whether or not it employed public/private distinction, that would not need some concepts in terms of which it organized its social life in these dimensions". A general assessment of views supports the universality of the practice of public space, but situated in relation to cultural practices of the public and private.

2.2.2.5 The Temporal or Historical Dimension

The historical dimension of public space focuses on the fact that space and society are always in a process of dynamic evolution. This dynamic evolution is reflected in both public space and the broader cultural setting that frames public space practices. Not only are they always in a process of dynamic of evolution, but the past is embedded and stamped within their fabric and so serves to shape the pattern of future transformations. Commenting on the issue, Madanipour (1996, p.38-9) notes that "generations of people have made and remade numerous set of ideas, practices and artefacts, some fading away within a short time while others outlive their creators. Every new generation abandons

some part of its socio-spatial inheritance and maintains some other parts. By this they ensure a permanent but dynamic coexistence of different social and spatial forms". The coexistence of the past with the present, as Madanipour (1996) further points out, does not imply that the present is a prisoner of the past. Rather, each new generation transforms, interprets and recreates its inheritance in its own image. In this way, the city is able to capture a diversity of time-structures, escape a tyranny of a single present and the monotony of a single instance that occurred in the past.

Transformation in cities and localities may usually be the result of forces that are local. But more often, they are a manifestation of global trends or the result of external rather than local forces. From a public space perspective, transformation in localities can be separated into two inter-related processes; transformation in public space as change with time in the material, social and symbolic dimensions of public space, and cultural transformation, as change in the broader context in which public space is situated. Based on this perspective, four issues of relevance to the research were identified from the literature; the relationship of time to change in urban and public space, the historical nature of social culture, the evolution of public space practices as a product of global cultural transformation and the problem of the concept of tradition within a framework of dynamic culture change. These issues are reviewed in the following sections.

2.2.2.5.1 Time and Change in Urban and Public Space

Cities, as earlier highlighted, are always in a process of dynamic change with the past captured and embedded in their fabric. Time and history are reflected in the fabric of cities in two ways; through temporal pattern of use and through the reorganization of the fabric. Time is reflected dynamically in cities at its most basic level in the temporal use pattern that routinizes daily life, and leads to the formation of biographies in space (Pred, 1984, Gregory, 1989). Routines may be constructed across different time durations such as daily, weekly, seasonal, and so on. Participation in activities by social elements and the dynamic development of biography in places means that socio-spatial patterns in the city are also always in a state of becoming resulting in the dynamic reorganization of the urban fabric and place. Salins (1971), for example, has reported on how cities in the United States have changed as a result of changing patterns of social rank and family status. Knox and Pinch (2000, p.108) point out that the majority of findings resulting from studies of cities of the industrialized world indicate that the three elements of socioeconomic status, family status,

and ethnic status, together referred to as dimensions of social space, account for sociospatial differentiation in urban space. Davies (1984), however, proposes a more generalized framework for explaining variations in urban structure, suggesting that. "historically, four major dimensions of social differentiation have dominated cities everywhere – social rank, family status, ethnicity, and migration status – and that these are combined in different ways in different types of societies to produce varying urban structures."²³

As social actors participate in daily routines, they also participate in a dynamic process of physical change of city fabrics with time in a process known as morphogenesis. This occurs in two ways; through internal reorganization and outward expansion (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p. 81). Internal reorganization occurs in the form of replacement and reorganization of the physical fabric. Such reorganizations, Knox & Pinch (2000, p.82) point out, "involve a variety of processes of change that operate at different spatial scales, with small-scale changes to individual buildings eventually leading to morphological transformations at the level of city, neighbourhood and quarters." The process of outward extension occurs in the form of outward accretions resulting in annular patterns of growth. In respect of the physical organization of urban fabrics, three process have been identified that lead to urban change; natural disasters, large scale intervention and incremental change (Kostof cited Madanipour, 1996, p.41). Two of these processes, natural disasters and large scale intervention, are forceful and sudden. Disasters have a capacity to initiate immediate and radical changes in urban fabrics. The large scale intervention of authorities in urban development, a phenomenon called Haussmanization in reference Baron Haussman's redevelopment of Paris in the nineteenth century, also has the capacity to suddenly and radically transform cities. The third category, incremental change, occurs as a result of the actions of thousands of small scale alterations and adjustments and that is continually taking place in cities. Transformation in cities is not however limited to the internal processes of particular cities. There is a need to distinguish between internal transformation in cities as discussed above and the transformation of cities. The transformation of cities is a broader cultural phenomenon, in which the fundamental role of cities in human civilization changes over time.

2.2.2.5.2 The Dynamic Nature of Social Culture

Social culture as a way of life that structures social life is also in a process of dynamic change. As noted earlier in Section 2.2.2.4.1, participation in the social life of communities in public space results in the simultaneous production and reproduction of both space and cultural structures, including its embedded structures of power relations (Soja, 1985, p.90; Castell, 2003, p.9; Carr et al, 1992, p.23). Social culture is therefore by nature in a constant state of dynamic transformation, being produced by the various discourses going on in society at any particular moment in time.²⁴ Forces that produce culture change can be viewed, as Kalltorp et al (1997, p. 2) note, "from either a global or local perspective." They point out that in almost all cases, instances of local transformation can be directly linked to some global forces. Diverse forces and processes have been identified in the literature to account for the transformations that are witnessed in cities, but most are in one way or the other associated with economic, political, technological, social and cultural factors (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p. 23-4; Carr et al, 1992, p.22). Examples of some common forces that induce cultural change include improvement in technology, such as construction, communication and transportation technologies, change in fertility, population growth and urbanization, changes in the philosophy of governance or in the legal framework for regulating social life, and changes in the systems of values and norms and in symbolic practices in general (Knox & Pinch, 2000).

Forces of cultural change operating at the global level may in fact be viewed as culture change operating at the global level. A relevant example of such change is captured in the modernization theory, which conceptualizes the global transformation of cities in an evolutionary development. Change is held to be the result of changes in productive base with implications for social and cultural relations. Evolution is usually presented as being linear, from a pre-industrial or pre-capitalist society to the post industrial or post-Fordist society.²⁵ Closely associated with developments in the post-industrial city are globalization and information technology. Globalization is a tendency for national economic and political systems to become integrated on a global scale and is also associated with the evolution of a global culture based on the diffusion of western materialistic values and the homogenization of cultures (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p.44). It is also associated with the globalization of production and financial systems, limiting the ability of nation states to affect their destiny. It is best manifested in industrial production, with multinational corporations operating in more than one country and products made in multiple locations

with components sourced from different areas. Knox and Pinch (2000, p. 46) observe that, “inherently all cities are now global as they are affected by decisions outside their boundaries.” The advance in information technology is viewed as one development closely associated with globalization. The advances have resulted in dramatic developments in communication and information processing and transmission. This is having an effect on the fundamental values of societies, with the resulting economic and technological changes from globalization inducing culture change and creating forces that are influencing the restructuring and adaptation of urban spaces (Knox and Pinch 2000, p. 48).

2.2.2.5.3 The Evolution of Public Space Practices

The evolution of the practice of public space with time is one of the relevant subjects that feature in discussions of culture change at the global level. Carr et al (1992, p.52) provides a chronological review of the development of public space practices globally. They point out that while the practice of public spaces could be traced back to as far the Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, the major precursors of current public spaces are those of the Ancient Greek and Rome civilizations. The Greeks developed the acropolis as a fortified temple precinct serving as the nucleus of their towns. Later in the civilization, the agora was developed as a secular market and meeting place and assumed greater prominence than the acropolis. In cities of the Roman Empire, public life centred around the forum. This combined the functions of the Greek acropolis and agora, and was structured as a framework of spaces for commerce, religious congregation, political assembly, athletics and informal meetings. Carr et al (1992) point out that from the Greek and Roman heritage of public spaces, there has been an explosion in the types and functions of public spaces to the present.²⁶

2.2.2.5.4 The Concept of Tradition within a Framework of Dynamic Culture Change

The idea of "tradition" as applied to cities is one that appears paradoxical in the light of the conception of a dynamic and continuously evolving cultural setting and urban space. The Cassel's English dictionary defines tradition as “the handing down of opinion, practices, customs, etc from ancestors to posterity”, suggesting a continuity of practice. When applied to urban space, the concept of tradition is closely associated with place distinctiveness or character and how this distinctiveness changes with time (Molotch et al 2000, p.793). Tradition stands for how place character moves across time and how "a mode of conjuncture at one point constraints or enables a particular mode of conjuncture at the

next” (Molotch, 2000, p.793). Place distinctiveness is presented as having both social and physical aspects, and is rooted in the role that tradition plays in defining place character. A strong presence of tradition as an element in place character, will contribute in defining particular places as traditional. Perpetuation of the element of traditional character from one generation to the next reinforces the traditional identity of places. The apparent paradox regarding tradition in a framework of dynamic culture change can thus be resolved by a deeper examination of the speed of transformation in non-traditional and traditional societies (Madanipour, 1996, p.23). In non-traditional societies, dynamism is rapid suggesting minimal perpetuation of practices thereby eliminating the concept of traditional identity or its perpetuation. Clifford et al (1986, p.18-19), in this regard, makes the observation that in industrial societies, “places and localities are increasingly ephemeral in our rapidly-moving epoch. Places are produced historically and inter-subjectively, but these identities are in flux. Culture is contested, temporal and emergent.” In the traditional societies, on the contrary, the dynamism of change is slower. Changes in practices thus take longer period and the likelihood of past practices constituting a significant aspect of contemporary practices and the sense of place uniqueness and identity is more.²⁷

2.3 Approaches to the Examination of Public Space

This section reviews possible approaches to the examination of public space. Approaches to the exploration of public space have their foundation principally in two disciplinary groupings; the design disciplines and the social science disciplines. The theoretical bases of the approach of the two disciplinary groupings are examined and relevant approaches reviewed. Academic research has been witnessing an increasing call for and moves toward cross-disciplinary research aimed at bridging prevailing disciplinary divisions. This has led to the evolution of cross disciplinary approaches such as environment and behaviour studies (Carmona, et al, 2003, p.87). The theoretical bases of the emerging cross disciplinary approaches are also examined along with a review of some relevant approaches.

2.3.1 The Design Disciplines

2.3.1.1 Theoretical Bases of the Approach of the Design Disciplines

The design disciplines include architecture, planning and urban design. The focus of the design approach is on the physical fabric of the city, and public space is addressed within the context of concern for the overall physical form of the city. The approach of the

disciplines is essentially normative, dealing “with different aspects of design of the various elements of the city – the buildings, streets, walls, open spaces, skyline, and the like – and with the aesthetic and functional relationship among the elements of urban design” (Eisenstadt & Shachar, 1987, p.32). Space is approached from a physical perspective with focus on its normative organization. Space is viewed as an infinite entity, which is carved out into settlements to create corporeal masses and voids or urban spaces. The space of the city is organized into different types of spaces created through the use and erection of different types of boundary configurations. Space in the context of the design approach is therefore conceived as “something pre-existent and unlimited’, a positive entity within which the traditional categories of tectonic form and surfaces occurred” (Calquhoun, 1989, cited in Madanipour, 1996, p.9). Because of the normative nature of the design disciplines, values are an inherent part of the approach. Lynch (1981, p.1) in this respect notes that “values are an inevitable ingredient of decision. Without some sense of better, any action is perverse.” Trancik (1986) in advocating a position calls for the restoration of “traditional values and meaning to urban open space”.

Design disciplines explore historical precedents to search for and understand underlying principles as a guide to normative intervention (Moughtin 1999, p.3; Trancik 1986, p.60 & 97). The earliest roots of contemporary public spaces and urban design are traced in the design literature to the Greek and Roman practices. Other historical precedents include the medieval practice of irregular planning and intimate open spaces, exemplified by Sienna, the renaissance artistic and rational approach to the organization of public space, and Haussman’s introduction of wide axial boulevards in his 18th century remodelling of Paris (Spreiregen 1965, p.7). Developments during the early part of the 20th century saw a diminishing importance in the application of traditional historical precedents of public spaces along with a rise of the modern movement in architecture. The modern movement promoted an architectural program “based on ideals of pure form and unbounded, democratic, or flowing space” (Trancik 1986, p.21). This was viewed as a means to socially change society. Since the 1960s, there has been a gradual shift from modernism to post-modernism (Greed & Roberts, 1988, p. 18; Appignanesi et al 1997, p. 116). The post-modern approach to aesthetics emphasises the local and the particular, as opposed to modernist universalism. It also promotes a return to ornament with reference to the historic past and its symbolism, but in the ironic manner of parody, pastiche and quotation (Appignanesi et al. 1997, p. 116).

2.3.1.2 Relevant Approaches

Two of the design approaches with potential for application in the examination of public space are 'urban morphology' and 'urban history'. Urban morphology as a method and approach is shared between the design disciplines and urban geography, while Urban history, results from the application of historical methods to the study of urban environments.

2.3.1.2.1 Urban Morphology

Urban Morphology is the study of the form and shape of the built fabric of towns and cities (Carmona et al. 2003, p.61; Madanipour 1996, p.53). The morphology of settlements is studied to identify patterns of development and the process of change over time. Godall (1987) points out that from an intra-urban perspective, "urban areas are studied in terms of their morphology, producing concepts and generalizations related to character and intensity of land use within the urban area and to the spatial interactions of one part of the urban area with another, i.e. internal structure and processes" (cited in Madanipour 1996, p.53). Among the most important elements considered in morphological analysis are land uses, building structures, plot and street patterns (Carmona et al. 2003, p.61). The urban block and street pattern, also known as the cadastral pattern, to a large measure establishes the structure of the public space network of a city, providing access to private property, as well as accommodating the "overlapping realms of 'movement space' and 'social space'" (Carmona, et al. 2003, p.67). Krier's 'Urban Space' (1979) is one of the seminal works that applied the morphological approach to the study of public space. Working from a premise that modern cities "have lost sight of the traditional understanding of urban space", and working on streets and squares as the main urban spaces of the city, Krier developed a typological system of analysing the streets and squares, based on their shape, enclosure pattern and enclosure surface treatment. The typological patterns were viewed as a means to facilitate the understanding and normative creation of traditionalist space.

The morphological approach is generally criticized as being descriptive, lacking in good measurement techniques, and failing to develop a general theory, but rather focusing mainly on the observable (Herbert & Thomas 1982, cited Madanipour 1996, p. 54). The extensive empirical studies of this line of enquiry is believed to have produced useful information about particular urban landscapes and shed light on some crucial relationships between physical space and social actors, such as that between the development agency's

location and the building form they produce. Nevertheless, it is held that there are some broader issues which this tradition, in its highly focused research leaves unaddressed. Though there have been attempts to link urban form with societal context in morphological studies, the concentration is still only on certain aspects of urban form in relation to certain characteristics of the development process and its agencies. Morphology is in this regard distinguishable from a more critical landscape approach, which tries to relate changes in physical space to the fundamental changes taking place within a city. Morphology as an approach is limited by its physical emphasis and inability to provide a framework that addresses the component dimensions of public space. The potential of the approach in providing methods and techniques of analysis, especially at the physical level is, however recognized.

2.3.1.2.2 Urban History

The historical approach to the study of urban areas is one that the design disciplines share with other disciplines such as historical geography and general history. Emphasis, however, varies across disciplines with, for instance, the design disciplines focusing on architectural elements and physical urban form and processes, while general history has a broader interest that covers almost all aspects. The historical approach highlights the notion that cities are built over long periods of time and that any approach to studies of urban space has to take into account its historical nature (Madanipour 1996, p.43). The design disciplines study urban settlements to understand the process of change, provide awareness, criticism or practical advice, or to establish critical frameworks for understanding and evaluating present or past approaches to urban form (Madanipour 1996, p. 32- 42). Some studies focus on tracing the spread of architectural styles and city forms to different regions, understanding the relations among societal processes and transformation of the physical city- morphogenesis, or as a means of promoting a new order or style of development. As an approach, the urban history approach provides a means for organizing information to create a meaningful understanding and stories of change across time periods. The limitation of the approach lies in its inability to provide either a conceptual approach to the subject being studied or a consistent theoretical framework to explain the change that is observed from historical data. The emphasis on data and sources in historical research is a source of challenge in the use of the approach.

2.3.1.2.3 General Limitations of the Design Approaches

The approach of the design disciplines is generally criticised in the literature for the undue emphasis on the physical aspect of settlements. Eisenstadt and Shachar (1987, p. 33) point out that many of the products of research using the design approach, with their aim of identifying the unique features of the structure of cities at a given period, are idiographic in approach. The approach has provided extensive literature, but almost no paradigm. The focus of the design approach on the physical dimension of the city has also been a source of criticism. Commenting on the issue, Madanipour (1996, p. 43) points out that there is a notion that “the design approach, due to its specific concentration on physical dimensions of urban fabric, has not sufficiently developed.” Carr et al (1992, p. 85) commenting in respect of public space, point out that emphasis on physical attributes alone, “gives a simplistic, deterministic conception of the functioning of public places, one that has turned out to be limiting in many respects”.

2.3.2 The Social Sciences

2.3.2.1 Theoretical Bases of the Social Science Disciplines

The social science disciplines, including geography, sociology, psychology, economics, political science and history, are disciplines that are principally concerned with people. In contrast with the design disciplines that focus on the physical aspect of space, social science inquiry, especially in those disciplines with a spatial focus, is mainly concerned with the people who create and use physical space. Cities are viewed as a reflection of the societies that create them and answers to spatial questions are found in the wider context of the social, economic and political organization of societies (Knox & Pinch 2000, p.8).²⁸ The direction and approaches of social science inquiry has been shaped by the demand for a better understanding of the economic, social and cultural context of the city in the second half of the twentieth century (Madanipour 1996, p.49). The initial direction of inquiry was influenced by urban sociology’s concern with urban spatial structure and by the work of the Chicago school of sociology. Four main approaches can be identified in social science inquiry; the quantitative or positivistic, the behavioural, the structural and the post structural.

2.3.2.1.1 Positivistic Approach

The quantitative approach is explicitly built on the philosophical position of logical positivism. Positivism essentially holds that “reality is present in appearances, that objects

exist independently of observers, that they may be measured repeatedly to form the basis of laws which can be verified with recourse to empirical fact” (Jackson & Smith 1984, p.7). With regards to space, positivism generally asserts that there are universal processes governing the human use of the earth surface. The characteristics of these processes can be identified through the use of quantitative methods in the form of modelling, observation and statistical analysis (Jackson & Smith 1984, p.6). The successful identification of the processes will lead to the development of spatial laws, which will inherently be of universal validity (Lagopoulos 1993, p. 265).²⁹ Applied to urban areas, the positivist approaches as Knox & Pinch (2000, p.2) point out, “aim to be ‘scientific’, providing objective descriptions of cities in such a way that the values and attitudes of the observer do not influence the analysis”.

2.3.2.1.2 Behavioural Approach

In the mid 1960s, the positivist approach came under heavy criticism because of its inherently descriptive and non-explanatory leaning. Another approach, the behavioural approach, emerged as a counter-movement to the quantitative method (Knox & Pinch 2000, p. 2). Madanipour (1996, p.65) points out that Behaviourists "attacked the quantitative approach as being too mechanistic, aggregative, dehumanizing, failing to separate fact from value, and reducing place and space to abstract geometries in which the human being is a 'pallid entrepreneurial figure'". The behavioural approach emphasizes the study of people's activities and decision-making processes within their perceived world (Knox & Pinch 2000, p.2). The explanatory concepts of the approach are borrowed from social psychology and phenomenology, with its emphasis on understanding the world through a knowledge of the attitudes and intentions which motivate human behaviour and from the ideas and beliefs that lie behind human action ((Knox & Pinch 2000, p.2; Madanipour 1996, p.65). The behavioural approach resulted in several directions of social enquiry, including cognition studies, semiotics, and everyday life approach. The behavioural approach is also criticised as being "more as a critique rather than a precise methodology with a cohesive structure, ...insufficiently complex to be use as a method of inquiry into modern societies" and a concern "with a verbal, instead of quantitative presentation of the ways in which people experience the world around them" (Madanipour 1996, p.65-6).

2.3.2.1.3 The Structural Approach

The structural approach or structuralism evolved in the 1960s as a reaction to the focus on spatial analysis in social science inquiry and by the 1980s had become the dominant approach.³⁰ The structural approach attacks the quantitative and behavioural approaches for "ignoring the realities of human decision-making" (Madanipour 1996, p.56) and lack of focus on "the constraints that are imposed on the behaviour of individuals by the organization of society as a whole and by the activities of powerful groups and institutions" (Knox and Pinch 2000, p.3-4). These constraints are neglected in the positivism of the quantitative approach and the emphasis of the subjective approach on the perceived world of individuals who may be dimly aware of these constraints (Madanipour 1996, p.57). Structuralists view patterns and processes as largely affected by underlying structural imperatives, and so seeks to understand society by probing into these underlying structures (Madanipour 1996, p.57). The structural approach "looks to political science for its explanatory concepts, focusing on the idea of power and conflicts as the main determinants of locational behaviour and resource allocation" (Knox and Pinch, 2000, p. 4).

The structural approach has been criticized as offering a diffuse tendency rather than a consistent set of doctrines (Thomas 1982, p.41). Commenting on the approach, Madanipour (1996, p.60) observes that, "Political economy analysis offers valuable insight into the workings of the social processes and structures. It is an integrative approach which goes beyond the confines of politics or economics in explaining social phenomena. However, it is restricted in that it often undermines the importance of cultural factors in socio-spatial analysis". He further points out that a study of political economy will not be complete without a study of the related cultural factors, highlighting that agencies are as important as the structures which frame their action. In down playing the role of agencies, structuralism has also been criticized for ignoring the fact that "there are many different conflicts in society in addition to those based around class, such as those conflicts based around gender, ethnicity, age, sexuality, religion, disability, nationality, political affiliation, location of neighbourhood, etc" (Knox & Pinch 2000, p. 4).

2.3.2.1.4 The Post-Structuralist Approaches

Post-structuralism, is a recent strand that evolved from the structuralist approach. Post-structuralists are opposed to the idea that "the world can be explained by a single hidden underlying structure" (Knox & Pinch 2000, p.4). Instead, it is argued that "there are

numerous shifting and unstable dimensions of inequality in society" (Knox & Pinch 2000, p.4). These inequalities are posited to be reflected in different forms of representation including language, intellectual theories, advertising, popular music and city landscapes. All the forms of representation involve a set of shared meanings – called discourses. This means that the worlds and ideas that we use to represent the world are not held up like a mirror to reflect an external reality. Instead, these words shape and create the world through the underlying assumptions and discourses that they incorporate. The poststructuralist approach in essence views agency and structure as a duality engaged in the social production and reproduction of society.

2.3.2.2 Relevant Approaches

The social science disciplines offer a variety of approaches and methods for application to the examination of public space. Most of the approaches focus on people in relationship to space. Two interrelated approaches appear relevant to the current study; a focus on people and public life, and a focus on Environment and Behaviour in relation to public space. In either of the cases, the approaches enable studies to be carried out either longitudinally or cross-sectionally. Studies could also be undertaken at the level of particular places or at higher spatial levels of the city.

2.3.2.2.1 People and Public Life in Public Spaces

Public space generally serves as a setting for community social life. Examination of public space from a public life perspective could focus on addressing a set of interrelated issues that include people in public spaces, their activities, and their interactions. A relevant issue from this perspective is that of physical and visual access by various people to public space and the inter-relationships of the people (Tibbalds 1992, p.1; Walzer 1986, p.470). Public spaces may in this respect be examined from the perspective of difference across such divides as economic, class, gender, ethnicity, age and race. Focus in examination would be on the exploration of issues that include diversity in space, access, control, inclusion and exclusion. Yeoh and Huang's (1998) study of the strategies and styles of migrant domestic workers in negotiating public space in Singapore is an example of such a people focused study.

The focus on activities in the concept of public spaces (Walzer 1986, p. 470; Carr et al, 1992) makes it also a subject of interest in the examination of particular localities.

Emphasis in such studies may be on the variety of activities, on participation and freedom to participate. An example of such an approach is found in the focus of some studies in the literature on public space as the public sphere that offers freedom to engage in political action that challenges the structures of societies. One dimension in the focus on activities may be on the production and management of public spaces. Focus may be on economic and political perspectives, including examining the role of agents and sources of ideas in the production of space. In approaching space from this perspective, Madanipour (1996, p.60) points out that “how our understanding of urban space is structured will correspond to patterns of its production rather than its consumption”. The focus on production may also examine the socio-spatial organization of space, concentrating on understanding how production structures space, “creating a diversity of places and neighbourhoods, where the rich and poor are segregated from each other through land and property mechanism” (Madanipour, 1996, p.60).

Examination of public space from a social dimension may also focus on the interrelationships and interactions of people participating in the social life of communities. Emphasis in this respect may be on such issues as the construction of difference and crime. A relevant theory in this respect was propounded by Wirth (1938), who saw heterogeneity, along with population size and density as determining features of a city. He defined cities as the melting pot of races, peoples, and cultures, and a most favourable breeding-ground of new biological and cultural hybrids. The city is in this respect a world of strangers, where difference rather than similarity is the norm. The diversity in cities is, however, linked to anonymity and the promotion of violence (Karp, Stone, & Yoel 1991), which can create a risk of personal harm and danger to those who are physically more vulnerable, such as women. Another aspect of the focus on interrelationship with wide research interest is the notion of public space as a gendered construct. Feminist writers argue that cities are historically built and run by men. As in other spheres of life, women have been marginalized in the process of planning and organization of urban space. This ‘gendered nature of urban space’ can be seen in the way urban space restricts women’s mobility: physically through an imposition of patterns of movement and behaviour based on fear and restricted access, and socially through assumptions about women’s role in urban society (Karp, Stone and Yoels 1991, p.153). Studies approaching public space from a public life perspective may be constructed to focus on a particular time and place, or on identifying

spatial pattern at higher spatial scales of public space, or temporal variations across historical periods.

2.3.2.2.2 Environment and Behaviour Approach

The study of man in his environment, physical and cultural, offers another approach to the examination of public space. Two interrelated relevant approaches identified within this framework are a focus on meaning and symbolism in public space, and a cultural approach. The search for meaning and symbolisms in built environments has its roots in semiotics. Semiotics, as an area of study, concentrates on the role of objects, events and appearances, which send messages and convey meanings (Madanipour, 1996, p.69). At the heart of the approach lies the concept of signs. There are two main traditions in semiotics. The first associated with Charles Peirce saw a sign as standing for something, its object, creating in the mind of somebody another, perhaps a more developed sign, which he called the interpretant. The second tradition associated with Saussure saw language as a system of signs and held that a sign consisted of a signifier and signified. The physical appearance of the signs that we perceive with our senses is a signifier and the mental concept or meaning to which it refers is the signified. The signified, or meaning, is shared by all those who speak the same language. The relationship between signifier and signified is a matter of cultural conventions and there is no substantial relationship between the two.

Semiotics provides us with a means of examining public space to understand the symbolisms, values and meanings that are encoded in it. It also enables the exploration of concepts of "identity" and "place" and how they are constructed. From a semiotic approach, urban space can be examined to determine the systems of meanings, values and connections associated with space in a particular period and how this has changed with time. Urban semiotics offers the advantage of a socially constructed, symbolic meaning for urban form. It has however, been criticized as limited in that "it creates a symbolic system, which is autonomous from the reality that it symbolizes. It tends to reduce social action to language and social relations to a communicative system, leaving it unable to address the constant change of urban space" (Castells 1977). Lefebvre (1991, p.5-7) maintained that the application of semiotics to urban space becomes a merely descriptive enterprise. Space is thus reduced to a message and in reading it, we evade history and practice. In describing space, this may provide inventories of what exist in space, or even generate a discourse on space, but it cannot ever give rise to knowledge of space. Furthermore, this leads to the

detachment of the mental realm from the reality of space with its physical and social dimensions.

To address the issue of time, culture provides another framework to approach the examination of public space. The approach holds that cultural forces shape the production of settlements. The cultural forces are held to be open systems and therefore subject to change. Changes in the culture of societies are reflected as change in the form of settlements and in the meanings and symbolisms associated with the settlements. By examining culture at any particular point in time, it becomes possible to explain the forms of settlements. By examining culture over time and understanding how it changes, it also becomes possible to explain changes in settlements and their associated meanings and symbolism. Cultural approaches while facilitating the broad study of settlement practices over time generally lack a conceptual basis for approaching issues.

2.2.3 Recent Cross Disciplinary Trend

2.2.3.1 Theoretical Bases of the Cross Disciplinary Trend

Academic research has evolved traditionally structured into disciplinary divides, with each discipline defining its conceptual approach and focus in the examination of phenomena. The disciplinary approach has been extensively criticised as leading to a fragmented and competing understanding of issues in research outcomes. Criticising the disciplinary structuration in respect of urban space, Madanipour (1996, p. 29-30) points out that it is not possible to separate social processes from mental and physical ones in dealing with space, as they are all socially produced and all constitute a more comprehensive conception of space. He points out that a more unified approach has to integrate and address the three processes simultaneously in the conception of space. Criticisms of the disciplinary structurations have gradually led to the evolution of broader approaches that address issues across the disciplinary divides. These approaches tend to promote the total understanding of phenomena, recognising both their complexity and interrelatedness with other phenomena. Three relevant potential approaches were identified in respect of public space; the socio-spatial approach, Structuration and Time Geography, and the Habitat Research approach.

2.2.3.2 Relevant Approaches

2.2.3.2.1 The Socio-spatial Approach

The Socio-spatial Approach was proposed by Madanipour (1996) with the aim of creating a unified framework for approaching the study of urban space. The main tenets of the approach have already been outlined and discussed in section 2.1.2. The first tenet of the approach posits that to bridge dilemmas that exist across disciplines and enable dialogue, urban space has to be viewed as material space with a social and psychological dimension and our map of the city has to have the three overlapping layers at the same time. The second tenet posits that to understand the city, we have to look at it both from above, where understanding is objective, and from below, with a focus on everyday life perspectives. The final tenet states that understanding urban space with all its dimensions is best made possible by tracing the process of its development. By tracing the development process, it becomes possible to relate "physical geometry with social and symbolic geometries, and relate the world of artefacts with the world of people" (Madanipour 1996, p.88). The approach is viewed as stemming from the traditions of urban architecture and urban morphology, which have developed the idea of the historicity of urban fabric, and the social sciences, which tend to link space with wider societal processes. It also stems from the notion which regards the development process and urban form as both outcomes of, and contributors to, the production and reproduction of social systems. The socio-spatial approach provides a powerful tool for approaching the conception of urban and public space, addressing simultaneously their multi-dimensional character. The approach is however weak in its treatment of the cultural and it also provides no clear framework for integrating all the dimensions into a consistent model.

2.2.3.2.2 Structuration and Time-geography

Another viable approach to the research is place production based on structuration and time-geography as initially developed by Giddens (1981). A combined structuration and time-geography approach provides a means whereby the structuration of society is related to time-geography and the production of places (Giddens 1981; Pred 1984, 1985). The approach focuses on the relationship between agency and structure, socialization and social reproduction and the production of urban places. The approach links group cultural properties, group social forms and practices, and agency and institutional action with the dynamic production and becoming of society and urban places. The focus of the approach is on the relationship between agency and structure, socialization and social reproduction

and the production of urban places. For any cultural group, the order inherent in its cultural context is expressed socially as interacting social structures that give form to society and its practices and also frames social action. Structures relate to deep-seated social practices that govern the daily life of members of a cultural group. Structures are also seen as socially created rules by which human actions are guided. The Social structures comprises of generative rules and power relations, including control over material, symbolic or authoritative resources, that are built into geographically specific cultural systems at particular moments in history. The component rules of a structure may be formal or informal, state or unstated, written or unwritten, explicit or implicit (Pred 1984, p.281). These rules, which are socially produced and learned, form the underlying grammar of activity and behavior in particular context. Social elements operate within the structures of society as agents. Agents are cultured members of groups, who produce and are produced by group cultural properties as is expressed in its social forms and practices. Action within a social context is mediated by institutional arrangements. The institutional arrangements are also a phenomenal expression of social order and are manifest in the membership of agents in systems of social action such as networks, organization, social classes, etc.

Agency and structure form a dualism in the structuration process. Structuration provides the means whereby socialization and social reproduction of society takes place. As participants in the structuration process, the thoughts, actions, and ascription of meaning by agents is constantly becoming through their involvement in the working of society and its structural properties. Social structures serve to constrain the action of individual agents but are in the process also a medium and outcome of behaviors that they recursively organize. Agency and institutional activities provide the medium through which the structuration process unfolds. As structuration unfolds, the structural properties of a social system is expressed through the operation of everyday practices of agents and institutions at the same time that the everyday practices generate and reproduce micro and macro – level structural properties of that social system. Participation in activities enables the socialization of agents, through which knowledge necessary to repeat or create activities, and of existing structural relationships is acquired. Activities also result in the perpetuation or modification of the institutions themselves. Through socialization, therefore, there is a simultaneous unfolding of social reproduction, whereby the society not only shapes the individual consciousness, but is at the same time unintentionally and intentionally shaped by the individual and his or her consciousness. Socialization and social reproduction therefore

occur simultaneously. Power is the element that binds agency and structure in the structuration process. Structures confer agency on agents by distributing power to them. Agents as beneficiaries of these orders, use their powers to defend or increase their holding, causing realignments within the distributional structure. Sources of power capital in the structuration process include economic, political, social, and symbolic sources. Power is therefore inherently linked to action and everyday practices. The power relations of a social structure may exist among different individuals, among different groups or classes, among institutions, and among individuals or groups on the one hand, and institutions on the other hand (Pred 1984, p. 281).

The structuration of society is place bound and is also inherently tied up to the process of place production. As the structuration process takes place, and social agents go through their life-path, engaging in practices and activities that result in the recursive production and reproduction of society, they produce individual biographies that can be conceptualized as a continuous time-space, subject to various constraints. In the same way, as the activities of the agents and institutions in a particular locale occur in different places and at different times and involve different combination of agents, and do entail the production and transformation of space, they produce the biography of individual places in terms of agents, practices and material settings. As place-specific biography are formed through social reproduction and as place specific social reproduction occurs through the formation of biography, there is a perpetual transformation of the physical environment. As nature and urban space are transformed through the ceaseless dialectic between socialization and social reproduction, the emergent form of place constrain as well as enables what can further take place. The production and reproduction of society and the production of urban spaces are therefore inseparable processes and both are historical contingent processes and constantly becoming. The public-private structuring of social life and practices, and its translation into the public-private division of urban space and its spatial organization therefore becomes one of the outcomes of the structuration process of societies. The approach provides a very powerful integrating framework, whereby dynamic cultural change can be linked to the dynamic production of urban spaces, thereby enabling the coupling of the two together in the search for explanations of why society and space evolves in a certain way. The approach is however weak in providing a framework for the conceptualization of public space in a way that addresses all its dimensions.

2.2.3.2.3 Habitat Research

Habitat research is a new emerging approach that corresponds to new trends and orientations in biology and agricultural technology.³¹ The approach has its roots in the 'Human Space' concept of Bollnow (1984) and his anthropological approach to space. The approach arises from the inability of isolated disciplines to explain the factual complexity of environmental conditions. The concept of 'Habitat' is the fundamental key of the new approach. 'Habitat' is viewed as a spatial, territorial, economic, cultural, social and temporal unit. From a social perspective, habitat and settlement favours a group view of man and his predecessors, rather than as individuals. Spatially, the approach implies a complex dialogue between the artificial cultural domain of settlement group and the natural environmental conditions. Habitat research essentially also presents the framework of an integral idea rather than a developed conceptual approach to the exploration of phenomena. As an approach, it reinforces the need for a holistic study of spatial forms in reflection of their existential reality.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter reviewed the concepts of space, urban space and public space, and explored viable approaches to the examination of public space in the case study. From the review, it is evident that space, urban space and public space are all subject to competing understanding. A closer examination reveals that the competing understanding arises from their multi-dimensional nature. Five dimensions were identified in respect of public space; physical, social, symbolic, cultural and historical. The physical dimension approaches public space from a material perspective as spaces configured with different functions. The social dimension views public space from the perspective of the people who create and use the spaces. The symbolic dimension concentrates on the meanings and connections people develop in the course of participation in community social life. The cultural dimension focuses on the fact that material public space with its social and symbolic dimensions is situated within cultural settings which structures the social life of people from above, but is equally shaped by the everyday activities of people in public space. The historical dimension takes into account the fact that both material space with its social and symbolic dimension and the cultural setting that frames social action are in a continuous process of dynamic change, which is captured as part of the history of place and society. From the review it is apparent that a comprehensive conception and understanding of public space

would require an approach that integrates all the five dimensions and simultaneously addresses processes related to them.

Several potential approaches were identified with roots in the social science and design disciplines, and in emerging cross-disciplinary research trends. While the two broad disciplinary groupings provide a plethora of techniques and methods, they tend to focus on limited aspects of public space, based on disciplinary interest. Their approaches therefore offer limited ability to comprehensively address the multi-dimensional nature of public space. The cross-disciplinary approaches offer the best potential for application in the study by virtue of their integrative nature. The cross-disciplinary approaches integrate ideas from a variety of disciplines thereby facilitating the development of comprehensive approaches to public space that addresses all its dimensions. This chapter establishes the basis for the development of the conceptual framework and methodology of the research in the next chapter. In choosing and developing a methodology for the research, the issue of the situation of practice is one of extreme importance. For any approach to be relevant to the study, it must embody a flexible framework that enables the situated examination of public space practices, rather than attempt to focus on grand narratives or western practices.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

“Theoretically informed history and historically informed theory must be joined together to account for populations specifiable in time and space, both as outcomes of significant processes and as their carriers” (Chevallier 1973).

3.0 Introduction

This chapter establishes the theoretical framework and methodology of the research. It is divided into three sections. The first section establishes the conceptual and theoretical Framework of the research. The second section establishes how the theoretical framework is applied to the case study as well as the broad strategies of the research. The last section presents the techniques used in carrying out the research.

3.1 The Conceptual Framework of the Research

3.1.1 A Five-Dimensional Approach to Public Space

From the review in chapter 2, it was concluded that a comprehensive approach to the conception and understanding of public space would require that all its dimensions be integrated and processes related to them simultaneously addressed. In line with the conclusion, a multi-dimensional approach to public space based on the broad framework of the sociospatial approach proposed by Madanipour (1996) was adopted. This is in line with the desire for a comprehensive treatment of the case study. Public space is defined in the context of the research as ‘spaces accessible to and used by the public as the focus of community social life’. In the tradition of the literature, public space is taken to include both open and enclosed spaces, such as religious facilities and markets that play a significant role in the social life of communities. Public space is recognized as material space with a social and symbolic dimension situated within a cultural setting with both space and society embodying history and being in a process of dynamic becoming with time.

3.1.1.1 Material Space with a Social and Symbolic Dimension

As material space, public space is viewed as the product of a public-private divide of urban space. It is therefore recognised as being situated within a broader urban space, where private spaces help to define and give form to it as is shown in Figure 3-1. A situated

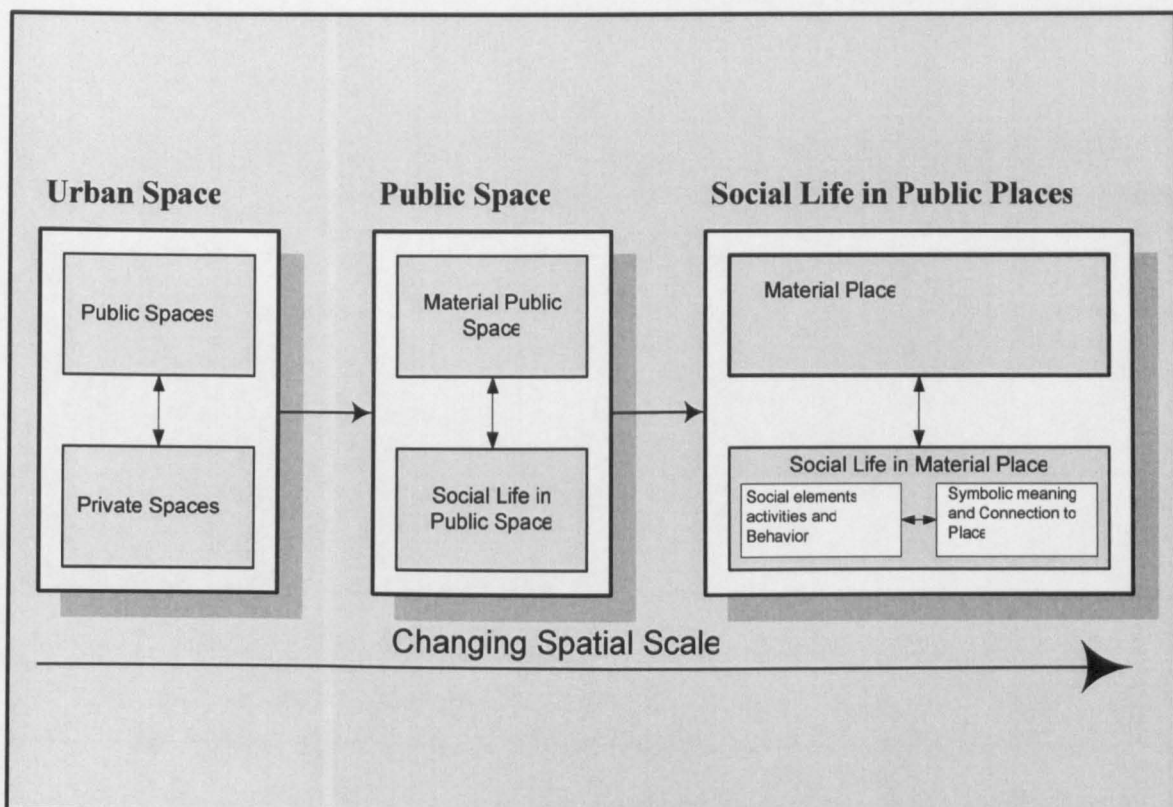


Figure 3-1: Structuration of urban space and the production of public space

understanding of public space would therefore require that its broader spatial context be always recognized and taken into consideration. As material space, public space is recognized as having properties which define its form. These include its functional typology, its morphological organization both at the 2-dimensional and 3-dimensional level, the pattern of its enclosure and the structural organization of spaces into a public space web. As a constituent element of urban space, public space is viewed as constituted at different spatial scales ranging from individual public spaces to the public space of a neighbourhood, urban district and the city as a whole. At the micro level of individual spaces, public space is constituted as 'place' where social elements come together to interact, participate in activities and in the process develop meaning and symbolic attachment. The micro level individual spaces are aggregated at the levels of a neighbourhood, district or city to define spaces operating at higher spatial scales.³²

The social dimension of public space deals with the people who create and use it. From this perspective, public space is recognised as the material setting for communal social life, as distinct from spaces for private familial lives. As the material setting for communal social and cultural life, public space is viewed as embodying a freedom of access for the public as

well as providing the setting for the different types of activities and interactions that constitute social life in any social and cultural setting. Along with serving as the arena for social life, public space, in reference to its symbolic dimension, is the context for people to develop meaning and connections to society, as well as express norms and values of the society. The three public space dimensions of physical, social and symbolic, are viewed in the research as the core dimensions of public space, providing the framework for the exploration of public space patterns and practices in any locality and at any moment in time.

3.1.1.2 The Cultural Dimension

From the literature review, it was established that public spaces are situated within broader cultural settings, which structures practices. Culture is therefore considered as a dimension of public space. Cultural settings provide the avenue for seeking answers to why any public space is constituted in a particular way at a particular time. The role of culture is evident in the shaping of practices at the level of specific places and in the form of cultural patterns of activities, routines, behaviours and attitudes, values and symbolism at higher spatial scales. Culture in the context of the research is believed to be inter-subjectively constituted through the inter-relations of members of a group. Culture is viewed as an ideational superstructure that frames the way of life of a group of people, giving them identity and enabling them to make meaning out of social existence. It is viewed as an adaptational framework that allows people to respond to the challenges of surviving in particular context. It is also a distributional order, allocating power and resources to members of a cultural group and establishing historical power relations among them. The order embodied in a cultural system, or its cultural properties, is expressed in the political, social, economic, symbolic, and spatial organization and practices of the group. The uniformity of groups embodied in the conceptualization of culture does not, however, preclude individual variability among the group members as culture is dynamic, continually disputed, evolving and changing in reaction to historical processes produced by both internal and external factors.

Urban spaces, as socially created spaces are viewed as one element in the broader set of cultural elements. Urban spaces are viewed as a physical manifestation of the cultural properties of a group and its embedded cultural order, as shown in Figure 3-2. This is in

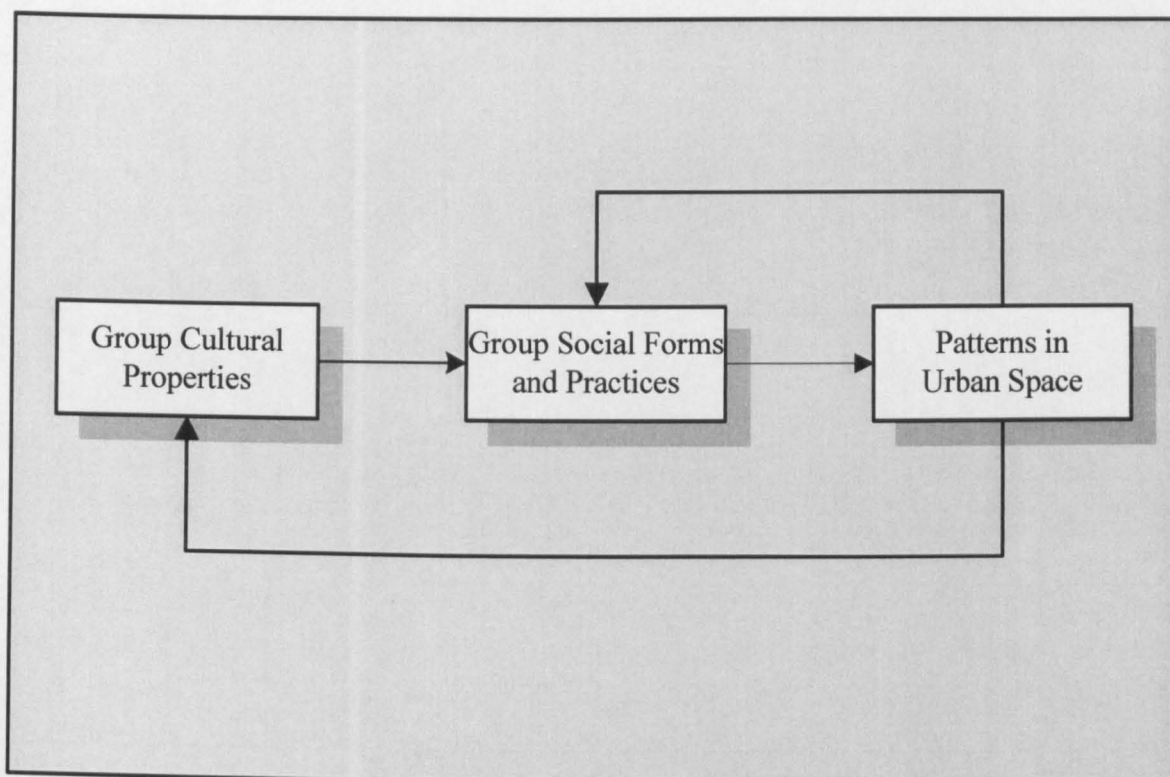


Figure 3-2: Relationship of culture to urban space

line with the observation by Rapoport (2000, p.185) that “culture is ultimately translated into forms through what people do as a result of what is in their head and within the constraint of their situation”. Urban spaces, as embodiments of a cultural order, are viewed as group specific and vary across cultural divides.

3.1.1.3 The Historical Dimension

From the literature review, it is also obvious that both societies and cities are always in a process of dynamic historical change. Dynamic change in societies is reflected in cultural transformation, while dynamic change in cities is reflected in the short range in temporal patterns of activities and in the longer range in the internal reorganization of existing urban space, material, social and symbolic, including its expansion or contraction. As historic entities, both societies and cities accumulate forms from the past which are brought to the present and form the basis for the emergence of future forms. The research therefore recognizes time as a dimension of public space. The consideration of time enables the linking of public space practices and patterns to their precedent historical forms and to the understanding of how historical forces have shaped it to its present form and how these are influencing its transformation to future forms.

3.1.2 Model of Urban Public Space

To integrate the five public space dimensions into a consistent model that facilitates both conception and explanation, the research adopted Structuration and Time-geography based on the work of Giddens (1981) and as further developed by Pred (1984, 1985) as an integrating framework. The Framework enabled the coupling of a dynamic conception of culture with a dynamic conception of public space in a model shown in Figure 3-3. The model essentially relates the broader structuration process of society that is expressed in political, social, economic, symbolic and environmental structures with the public-private structuring of social life and urban space. The structuration process results in a cultural definition of the public and private which is reflected in the organization of urban space. Public space at the macro scale of the urban level consists of the aggregation of material spaces supporting the public life of the society. At the micro level, public spaces become material places where people engage in activities and in the process socialize and are socially produced, acquiring meaning and connections to both places and society. As socialization occurs in society from the macro cultural level to place practices, society and public space are transformed dynamically in time. The search for an understanding of how space is dynamically produced by society and why it is produced in a certain way means examining the societal structuration process. By accounting for and examining all agency and institutional activities that transform space, establishing what was done, where it was done and when it was done, the understanding of how space is produced can be derived. Also, the understanding of why space is produced in a particular way can be acquired by examining the social structures of society and the structuration process to understand the historical forms of power relations in society and how these are translated into space, as a physical manifestation of the cultural order of society.

The model provides a framework to seek answers to the questions of 'what' and 'why' in relation to public space embodied in the research objectives. The model situates public space within a broader urban space. Exploration of public space is carried out either at the broader level of the city or at the level of individual public places. Exploration at either level focuses on establishing the form of public space at specific periods in terms of its physical dimension and its associated social and symbolic dimensions. By examining the form of public space in different historical periods, it becomes possible to

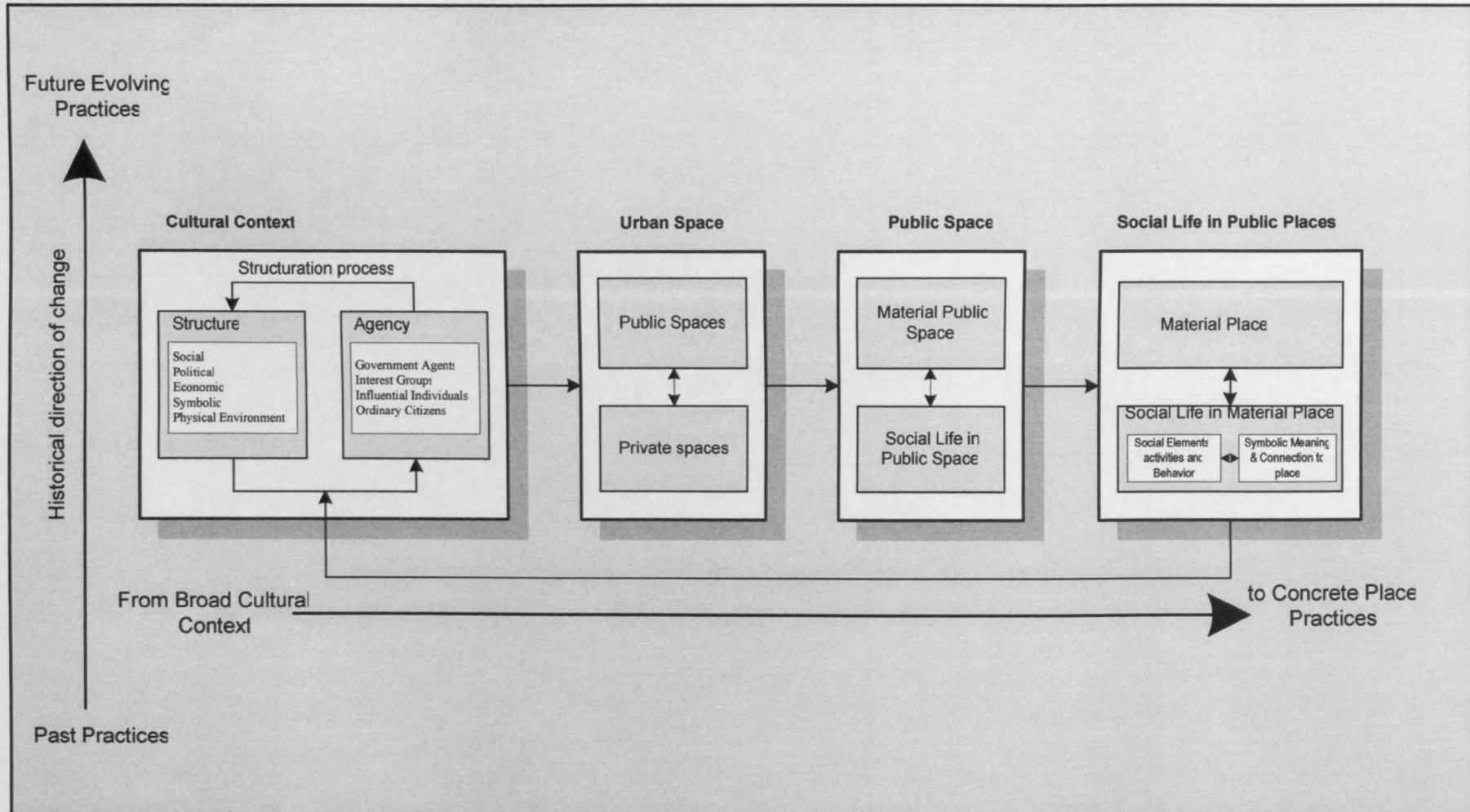


Figure 3-3: Model of urban public space

compare and identify changes in public space from the perspective of the three dimensions of physical, social and symbolic. The examination of public space in a particular historical period would be carried out concurrent with the examination of historical and cultural setting of the period in terms of events and their impact on the evolving form of the social, economic, political and symbolic structures of society. By relating the historical and cultural settings across periods, it becomes possible to understanding the pattern of cultural transformation. By linking and relating cultural transformation to changes in public space, it becomes possible to theorise explanations of why public space has changed in the way it did over the course of a period of interest. In this way, the model provides a theoretical framework that is able to address all the five dimensions of public space in the search for answers to the research questions.

3.2 Application of the Framework to the Case Study

3.2.1 Research Issues and Questions

The main goal of the research is to find out what changes have occurred in the public space of Zaria in the period between 1804 and 2004 A.D., and why the changes have occurred in the way they did. The model of urban public space developed, which incorporated the 5-dimensional approach to public space, provided the theoretical framework to address the research question. Based on the literature review carried out in chapter two and the model developed, a set of issues regarding the three public space dimensions of physical, social and symbolic were identified for the examination and identification of changes in public space. The issues were then translated into a framework of questions to serve as drivers in the examination of public space in specific historical periods. The framework is shown in Figure 3-4. This framework also served as the basis for the development of another framework of questions, shown in Figure 3-5 that facilitated the identification of changes in public space across periods and the linking of changes with cultural transformation as is manifested in the social, economic, political and symbolic structures of society. In this way, the model of Urban Public space was translated into an operational framework that was used to seek answers to the research questions.

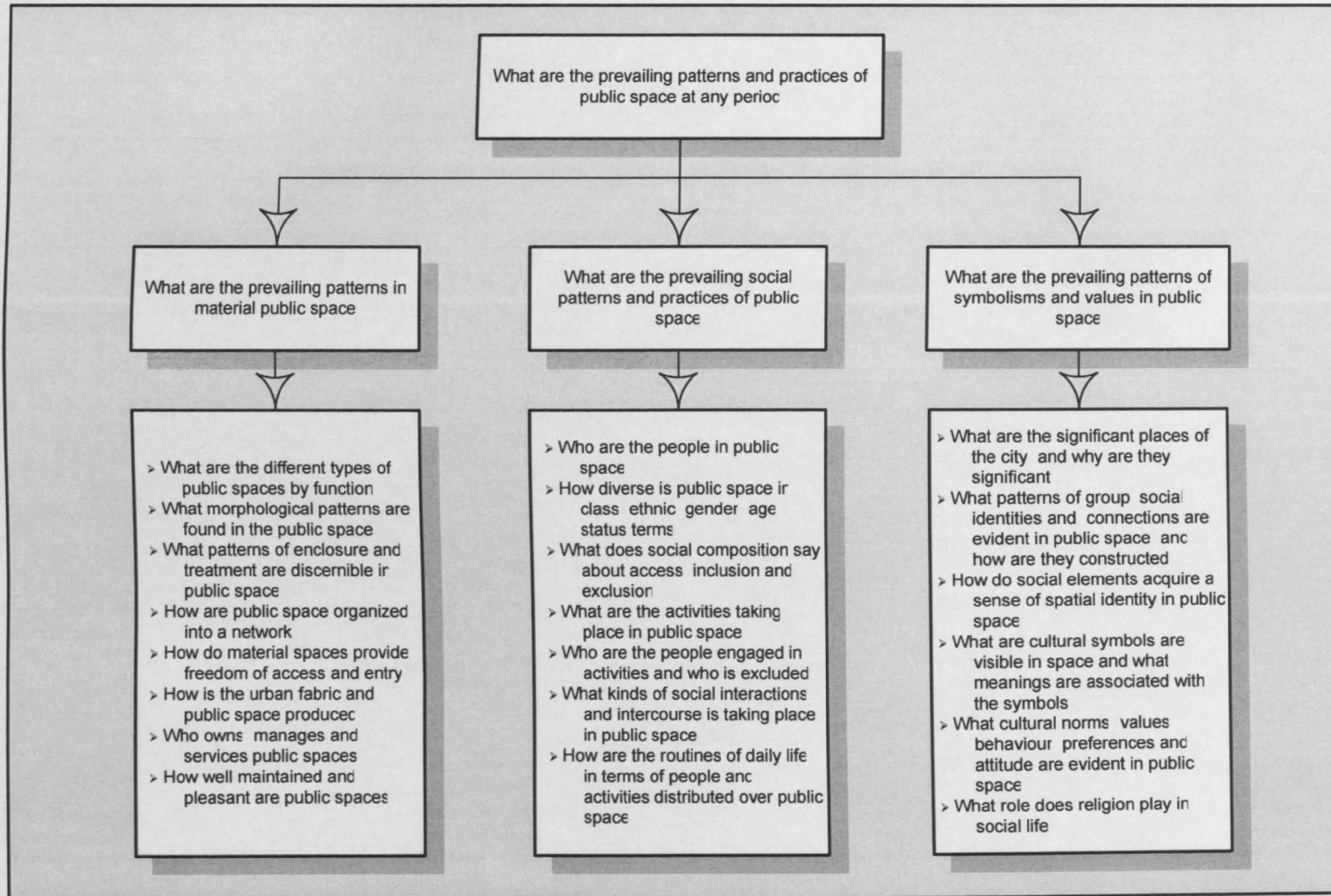


Figure 3-4: Framework for exploring period public space

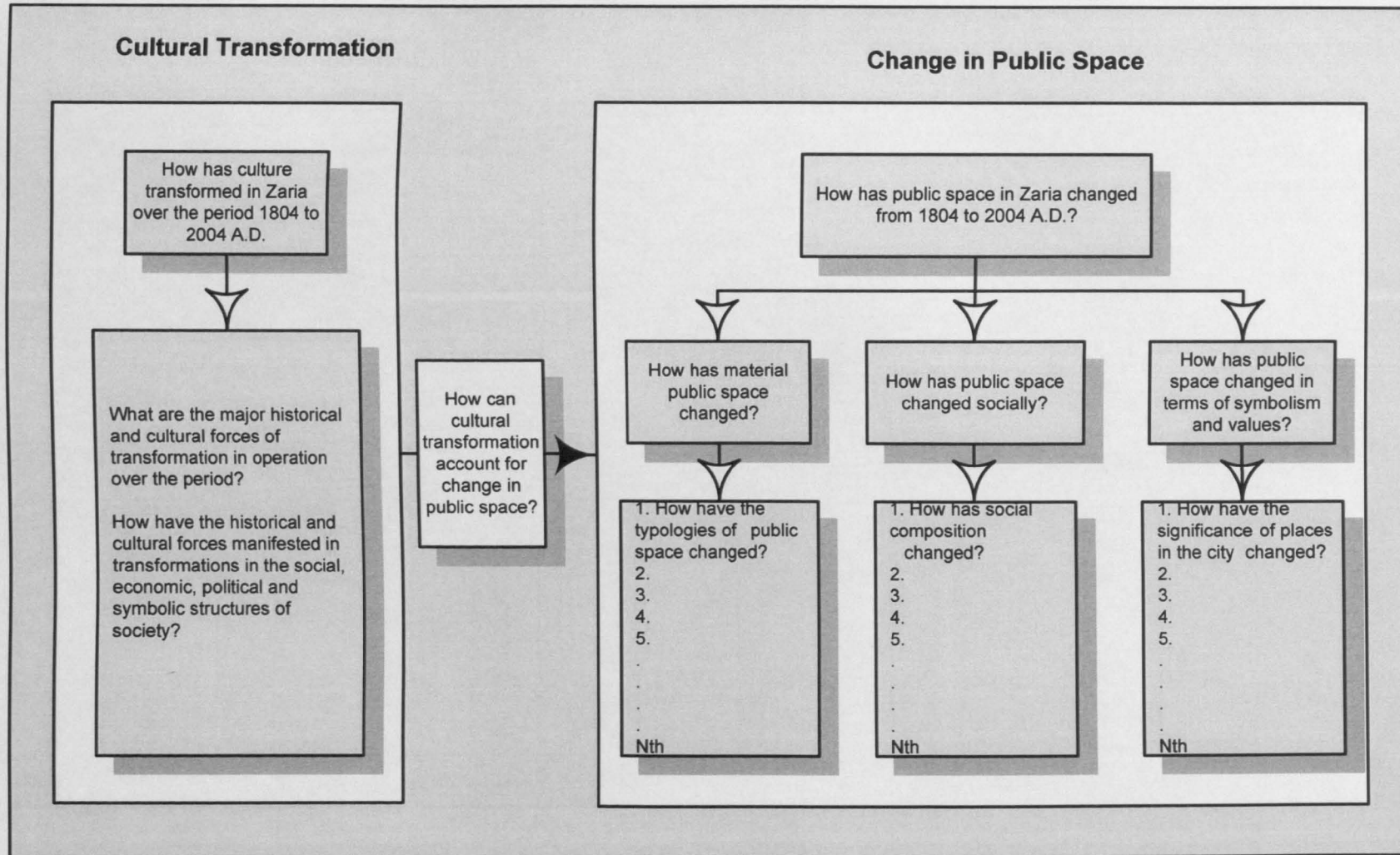


Figure 3-5: Framework for exploring change in public space

The model and framework developed embody a conception of dynamic change in both public space and social culture and their linkage to explain change in public space. Three propositions were generated as logical derivatives from the application of the operational framework:

1. Proposition one states that Zaria's public space has changed in the period from 1804 to 2004 AD
2. Proposition two states that Social culture has been transformed in Zaria in the period from 1804 to 2004 AD.
3. And proposition three states that a relationship can be established between the cultural setting of Zaria and its public space patterns and practices to account for and explain changes observed in public space in the period between 1804 and 2004 AD.

It is anticipated that a test of the findings of the research would support the three propositions. The negation of any of the three propositions would essentially lead to questions about the validity of the research framework and the theoretical postulations it embodies.

3.2.2 Approach to the Case Study

The questions of “what” and “why”, embodied in the research and the research subject suggests the use of qualitative and descriptive techniques rooted in analytical literary reconstruction of social landscapes. The qualitative approach was therefore adopted for the research. The time scale of the research covers the period from 1804 to 2004 AD. For ease of analysis and in consonance with prevailing practices in the literature on the Hausa cities, the period covered by the research has been divided into three; the Jihad period from 1804 to 1900, the Colonial Period from 1900 to 1960 AD, and the Post-Colonial period covering the period from 1960 to around 2004 AD. These periods are in line with significant events in the history of the Hausa traditional cities.³³ Because the Post-Colonial period stretched to around 2004, when the research was carried out, this period was further categorised into a historic and a contemporary part with implication for the methods applied. The broad historical divisions, while necessary for the tracking of changes in public space, were never treated as static isolated periods in the history of the city. Rather, they were viewed as part of a dynamic continuous stream of time.

The approach of the research focuses on the utilization of the developed operational frameworks to examine and identify changes in public space and to search for explanations of changes from the cultural transformation of society. This was carried out in a three step process;

- First, the historical, cultural and spatial context of public space in Zaria was examined for all historical periods resulting in the identification of principal historical events, identification of the cultural transformation currents they unleash, and examination of the manifestation of the currents as changes in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society.
- Next, data was sourced to reconstruct and understand public space patterns and practices for each period in the history of Zaria in terms of the three dimensions of physical, social and symbolic. The questions in Figure 3-4 are the principal driving force in the identification of patterns. Once sufficient knowledge of public space patterns and practices was acquired for all periods, then there was a comparison of dimensions across periods to identify significant changes that had occurred.
- Finally, there was a coupling of observations about cultural transformation for each period as manifested in changes in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society with observed changes in public space leading to the development of theories of explanation about why the changes in public space have occurred in the particular way they did.

A qualitative test of the findings from the application of the three-step process was carried out to test support for the three logical propositions of the research. The examination of cultural transformation in step one led to a definitive answer on whether culture has transformed in Zaria, the examination of public space patterns and practices in step two led to a definitive answer on change public space, and a judgement of the success in attempting to link change in public space with cultural transformation to account for observed changes in step three led to a definitive answer on the relationship of social culture to patterns in public space.

3.2.3 Scope of the Research

The literature review showed that public space is by nature complex and multi-dimensional, with each of its dimensions embodying a complexity of issues that needed to be addressed in its conceptualization and understanding. When public space is studied

across a broad time period, its dimensionality assumes a greater degree of complexity. This complexity requires that a limit be established for the scope of the research. This has been done by limiting the issues and questions addressed by the research. Table 3-1 list the issues and questions which form the scope of the study. The issues cut across the physical, social and symbolic dimensions of public space and in fact reflect it's most important or relevant analytical aspects. In seeking for the explanation of changes observed in public space, Focus is limited to only the social, economic, political and symbolic structures of society as outlined in the theoretical model. Environment was not given ontological importance because it remained a constant throughout the period of interest in the research. All efforts at better adaptation to the environment through technical developments are viewed from a purely economic perspective.

Table 3-1: Scope of the research questions

Dimension	Issues	Research Questions
Physical	<i>Types of public spaces</i>	What are the different types of public spaces by function in the city?
	<i>Morphological organization</i>	What are the morphological patterns found in the city's public space? How are public spaces organized structurally into a network? What patterns of enclosure and boundary treatment are discernible across public space?
	<i>Production and management</i>	How is the urban fabric and public space being produced? Who services, maintains and manages public places? How well serviced and maintained are public places
	<i>Amenity Value</i>	How pleasant are public places?
Social	<i>People in public space</i>	Who are the people in public space in terms of Ethnicity, age, gender and social class? What does participation in public space say about access, inclusion, exclusion and diversity?
	<i>Activities</i>	What types of activities are taking place in public space? Where are the activities located?
	<i>Pattern of Daily Biography</i>	How are people and activities distributed in public space over the course of a typical day? When and how does this pattern change?
Symbolic	<i>Place significance and attachments</i>	What are the Significant places of the city
	<i>Group connection and identify</i>	What distinct social identities and group connections are evident in public space?
	<i>Attitudes, values and Symbols in public space</i>	What behaviours and attitudes are displayed in public space What values and norms are visible in public space? What are the visible symbols in public space
	<i>The role of religion in social life</i>	What role does religion play in social life How is religion manifested socially?

In formulating the research approach, there was an option whether to focus on the micro level of spaces, with emphasis on place setting, activities and symbolisms, and which will see the research conceptualized as "public spaces of Zaria", or on the macro level of space, with emphasis on aggregative patterns rather than on grainier descriptions of public space practices with focus on the 'public space of the city'. The broad historical period covered by the research coupled with its exploratory nature and limitations in data availability precluded a micro level treatment and so led to the adoption of a macro level approach. The macro level spatial approach is akin to a cultural level treatment of public space, and effort in examining and explaining change in public space is on looking for patterns that enabled the aggregative description of the public space of Zaria, and on looking at how broad cultural forces account for what is observed in public space. Even with a macro level treatment, however, it is accepted that it will not be possible to account for all events or all spaces of the city. The focus in the study is therefore on discrimination of events and simplification of history.

3.3 Research Techniques

This section discusses data issues and problems, data sources and instruments used, and data analysis techniques applied to arrive at answers to the research questions.

3.3.1 Data Issues and Problems of the Research

A requirement of any historical study and particular of public space is the availability of good quality data. The complexity of public space translates into a myriad of historical events and forms that requires the availability of quality historical data covering all periods to facilitate understanding and analysis. For the traditional Hausa cities, the availability of such data has always been in question. Historical research on Zaria in particular and the Hausa cities in general has always suffered from the general lack of adequate sources of reliable data. Even when data is available, there are always question relating to the quality of the data in terms of its comprehensiveness, accuracy, reliability and representativeness. The earliest period in the history of Zaria and the Hausa land saw very minimal historical documentation. Oral history was transmitted down, but documented history was restricted to the compilation of king list (Palmer, 1928). During the 19th century, the visits of explorers led to memoirs that captured the history of some cities, including Zaria. Such documentations were however selective and questionable in terms of representativeness, even though they contributed in enabling the understanding of various aspects of the

society. The colonial period saw an improvement in documentation with the establishment of municipal governance and the preparation of different types of reports. Since the independence period, there has been a gradual decline in the practice of public authority documentation. There was anticipation at the beginning of the research that data availability was going to be limited and that available data may suffer from comprehensiveness and validity problems. A manifestation of the situation was established quite early in research in the form of the unavailability of updated published maps of Zaria. In fact, the most valid maps of the city were found to be those produced in 1963, when the city was last subjected to a global mapping exercise.

Given the strong limitations expected from the data situation, it became necessary to adopt some strategies to control and minimize its impact on the outcome of the research. Some of the strategies relate to the general approach of the research and have been discussed in Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. These include limitation of the issues addressed by the research, focus at the macro level in the examination of public space rather than at a grainier micro level, and discrimination of events and simplification of history in the examination of change in public space. Other strategies adopted relate to the sourcing of data. These include the use of a combined historical and fieldwork methods in the study, and expansion of the search for documentary material, including the assessment of the quality of sources used. The 2004 termination point of the research timescale provided the opportunity of combining fieldwork methods with historical research. The use of fieldwork methods enabled a deep understanding of the present public space of Zaria, providing an anchor point that was related to past practices to identify changes. The two methods enabled the use of a multiplicity of data collection instruments to complement the shortcomings of each other. The strategy of expanding documentary data search led to the identification and collection of materials from as many locations as is practically possible and to the collection as much material related on the subject as can be found. Collection also focused on ensuring that sufficient material is acquired to facilitate the examination and identification of change in all the historical periods of the research. The collected documentary information was subjected to an analysis aimed at assessing the quality of the various sources and source categories. This analysis is presented as a commentary on the documentary sources of the research in Appendix B.

3.3.2 Data Sources

In line with the outlined objectives of the research, two broad categories of data were required to answer the research questions. The first category of data was needed to map out and understand the changes that have taken place in public space over the period of interest. Data in this respect was needed to address the three public space dimensions of physical, social and symbolic, and specifically address the questions outlined in Table 3-1. Such data included information on the material configuration of space, the organization of social elements in space, their activities and affective relationship to groups and places. The information had to be available for the three historical periods covered by the research timeline. The last category of data was needed to explain why the changes in public space have occurred in the way they did. Data in this respect should facilitate the understanding of historical events and processes and how they shape the social, economic, political, symbolic processes and structures of the society and produce new forms of power relations, social forms and activities, including the structuring of the life path and daily routines of agents in space. Data for the research has been sourced from both primary and secondary sources. The focus of primary data collection was on a field work carried out in 2003. The focus of secondary data collection was on documentary information search. The following sections outline the specific data collection methods, instruments and sources used in the research.

3.3.2.1 Fieldwork

3.3.2.1.1 Preparation for the Fieldwork

Preparation for the research fieldwork began in the summer of 2002 with the preparation of a document '*framework for fieldwork in Nigeria*'. The document identified three objectives for the fieldwork within the broader framework of the research; seek information about physical, social and symbolic patterns in the contemporary public space of Zaria, source information about the cultural life of Hausa society as well as about past public space forms and practices, and seek information about people's perception of changes in Zaria's public space and the reasons why the changes occurred in the way they did. The framework document went on to identify the specific type of data that is to be collected and the data collection methods and instruments to be used. Three survey instruments were designed for use in fieldwork. The first instrument, the field observation form, was designed for the collection of information on place setting and people and activities in space. It was designed to collect information on such issues as the character of surrounding buildings

and enclosure, the setting of place, the social characteristics of people in space, their behaviour and interactions, the different types and level of activities in place. The second instrument is a field survey form. This was designed to be used in collecting information from people in places. The questionnaire covered such issues as frequency of visit and activities in particular places, activities in other city spaces, information on perception about symbolism of places and importance of agents in public space practices and production. The last instrument is the Detailed Biographical survey. The Detailed biographical interview questionnaire is an interview guide for a semi-structured discussion of activities in public space. It covered activities in places, temporal patterns of social life and place symbolism and connections over the life cycle starting with childhood experiences to adulthood. It also has a section dealing with change and perception of forces shaping change in the city.

The preparation for the fieldwork pointed to the need for assistants in administering the three survey instruments. It was estimated that at least five assistants will be required. Criteria was therefore put forward for their selection. These included that they should be familiar with social science research methods, be preferably graduate students, fluent Hausa speakers and have a good disposition with ability to quickly develop friendly relations. To mitigate the lack of current updated maps earlier highlighted, a decision was taken to acquire satellite imagery of the traditional city to support the fieldwork. The lack of any commercially available imagery, led to the commissioning of a new acquisition Digital globe. The new imagery was collected on March 3, 2003. The Fieldwork was scheduled to last 7 weeks, from July 7 to August 18, 2003.

3.3.2.1.2 Pre-fieldwork Photographic Survey

The fieldwork was limited to a particular season and period of time. The limitation of the fieldwork in enabling the understanding of temporal patterns of public space practices from observations was realized. As mitigation, a decision was taken to commission a person to monitor and undertake a photographic survey of the traditional city over the course of the year immediately preceding the fieldwork. A lecturer in the Department of Fine Arts, Ahmadu Bello University accepted to undertake photo documentation. He was given specific instructions that included the need to focus on public spaces, including activities, events and people in the spaces. He was also required to record information about location, time and event for each photograph that was taken. This activity was carried out between

October 2002 and June 2003. He was able to cover the whole city, documenting different types of events on five rolls of films producing 180 photographs.

3.3.2.1.3 Pre-fieldwork Preparations in Zaria

Preparations for the fieldwork continued in the summer of 2003. Permission was first sought for the research from both the Zaria Local Government Council and the Emir of Zaria. Letters of introduction to this effect had already been prepared by the University of Newcastle addressed to the Emir of Zaria and the Chairman of the Zaria city Local Government Council. The letters were delivered in May 2003, and appropriate permission secured for the fieldwork. With permission secured, attention shifted to identifying and securing field assistants. Prior to going for the field work, a search for five research assistants had been initiated in the local university, Ahmadu Bello University through known contacts. The searchers were intimated about the requirements for selection and were instructed to ensure that at least one of the four research assistants be a female. Four male assistants were ultimately found who worked on the project. They were all graduate assistants in the same university. Effort was exerted in getting a female assistant but was not successful because of the lack of willing candidates. The only female who agreed to participate, a doctoral student, declined at the last minute.

Once the research Assistants had been selected, the next step was to train and prepare them for the field work. Several meetings were held, where the objectives of the project and the data collection instruments were discussed. Interpretations of the questions in the survey as well as the various ways to approach their administration and the field work in general were examined. Specific attention was given to the various ways that interview questions could be translated into the local language without losing their essential meaning. The research team comprising the researcher and the assistants decided to undertake the fieldwork in two phases. In the first phase, focus will be on just walking through the city to delineate the public space and also identify sample spaces for observation while in the second phase, focus will on the application of field observation and interview questionnaire to the sampled spaces. In addition to the four field assistants, another assistant was sought to assist with the administration of the Detailed Biographical Survey instrument. A popular local journalist with established contacts in the city was identified to assist. He carried out all the detailed biographical interviews

3.3.2.1.4 Exploration of the City and Photo Documentation

The first phase of the fieldwork involved going round the city to explore and identify sample public spaces for observation. To support the delineation exercise, a large digital image of the city was printed, over which ward divisions of the traditional city was drawn. The delineation started sequential from the Kofar doka ward through the 42 wards of the city and involved identifying spaces, examining how they can be categorized, and also undertaking a photo documentation of the city. The delineation was undertaken in two shifts per day; in the morning before 12 noon and then after 4:00 pm. The exercise lasted until Friday, July 25, 2003. As the preliminary delineation was being carried out, representative spaces for further observation were selected. The research did not anticipate the use of statistics in choice of observation location but rather sought to ensure that spaces were representative of the types of public places in the city and are also distributed over the whole fabric of the city and its wards. At the end, a total of 45 spaces were selected for observation. Prior to the preliminary delineation of the city spaces, a preliminary estimate of 60 spaces was suggested, but after having gone round the city, it was found that such a large number will be repetitive. Spaces were chosen to be representative of both the types

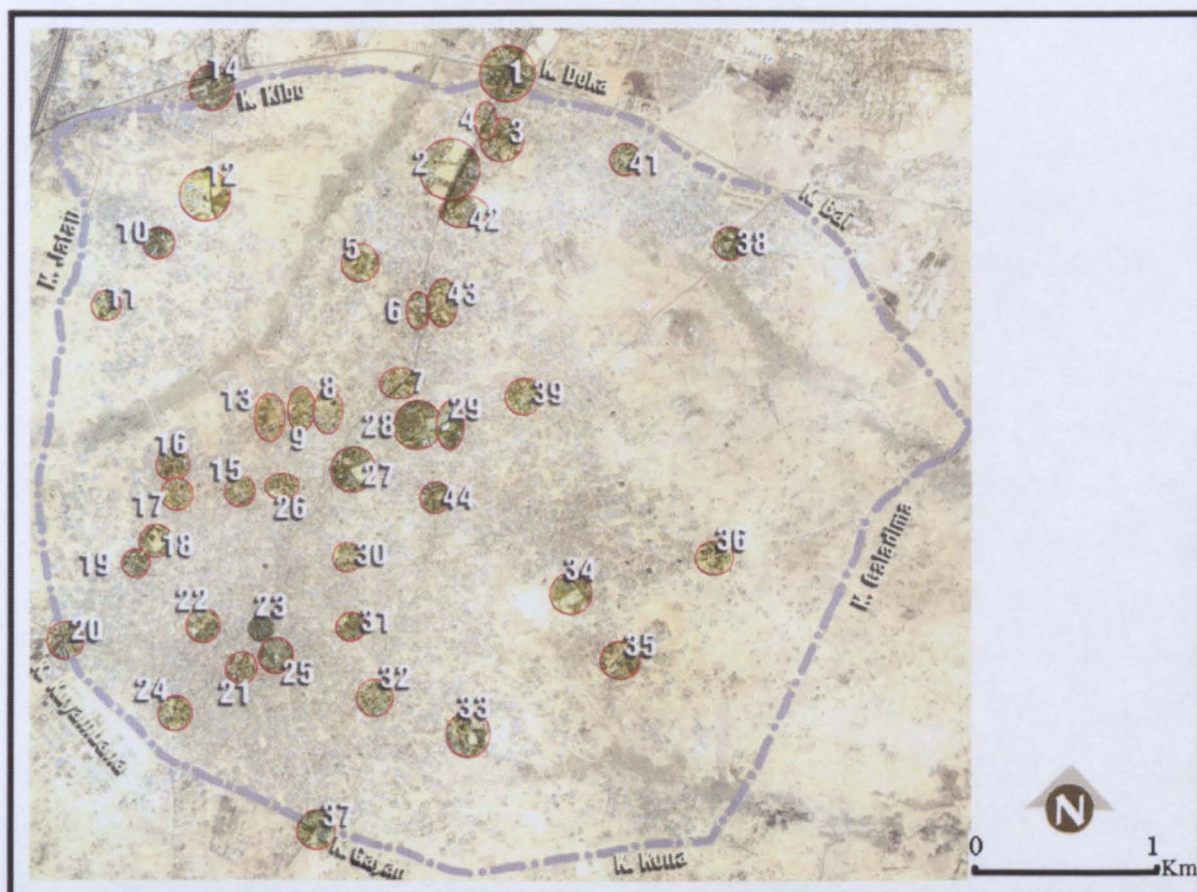


Figure 3-6: Location of observation spots in fieldwork survey

of spaces in the city, the spatial scale at which the spaces operate and also the type of people and activities in the spaces. Figure 3-6 above shows the location and the code given to the sampled spaces. About 745 digital photographic images were captured from the photo documentation undertaken as part of the delineation exercise. These were systematically organized by ward for use in analysis.

3.3.2.1.5 Field Observation and Interviews

After the delineation exercise, the schedule of the research was revised in preparation for observation and interviews. A schedule was prepared assigning specific assistants to particular observation and interview location. A print of digital satellite imagery was made for all selected spaces to be sampled and given to the assistants along with the field observation form and field interview questionnaire. Each form was coded to correspond to the location where it is to be used. The plan called for field observation for each sampled space at two different times of the day, and the administration of two field interview questionnaires at each time. Persons to be interviewed were randomly selected from the people in a sampled space. The need to strive to get ladies during the field interview process was highlighted. In the final analysis, forty four spaces were observed. Due to schedule constrain problems, some spaces were observed only once. Each space had an average of two people interviewed. A total of 91 people were interviewed covering almost all the wards of the city. 84 of the people interviewed were adults, 5 teenagers and 2 children. 86 were males and 5 were females. The interview sample was lopsided towards males because of the unwillingness of females to submit themselves to interviews, especially by strangers.

Along with the structured surveys, there were also incidental surveys. This happened when the team came across people who were willing to talk about the city and appear to have relevant information, irrespective of their age. Several of these interviews were conducted with both children and adults and they provided perspectives and information which would not have been possible to collect through the structured questionnaire being used. Certain people were also specifically identified to answers questions and resolve dilemmas regarding public space practices that arose towards the end of the research. Those selected were usually middle aged, highly educated individuals working either in the University or the Public sector, and who were born, and reside in the old city and are familiar with its customs and history.

3.3.2.1.6 Detailed Biographical Survey

Twelve detailed biographical interviews were conducted as part of the fieldwork. The sample was made up of men and had an age range of between 24 and 103. The interviews were semi-structured with the questionnaire serving as a guide in the exploration of personal biographies. The interviews were recorded on tape, with the outcome being about fifteen hours of taped interview.

3.3.2.1 Secondary Data Sources

Secondary sources, in the form of published and unpublished works, served as the bedrock information used in the examination, identification and explanation of changes in Zaria's public space. These were sourced from different Locations, principal among which are the Ahmadu Bello University library, the National Archives in Kaduna, Arewa House library in Kaduna, Zaria History Project of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Newcastle University Library, The British Library, and Public Records Office, Kew. The following sections describe the various categories of secondary data sources used and the places where they were sourced from.

3.3.2.1.1 Maps and Digital Imagery

Maps were critical for the study in order to undertake different types of spatial and typological analysis. No map of the city could be found before the advent of colonialism at the beginning of the 20th century. Rudimentary maps were prepared by colonial officers for administrative purposes from the early twentieth century. The first systematic mapping of the city was carried out as part of a national exercise in 1953 and the map that resulted from that exercise was revised in 1963 and 1976. The study was able to acquire the maps prepared in the years 1959, 1963 and 1976 from the Nigerian Geological Services.

3.3.2.1.2 Memoirs and Biographies

Memoirs and biographies provided a unique source of information enabling a glimpse into the extant lifestyle and social practices of the Zaria. The available materials under this category could be classified into three; memoirs written by explorers and visitors to Hausa land and Zaria during the Jihad period, Autobiographies and memoirs written by colonial officials who had participated in establishing colonial rule or who had worked in the colonial administration in Hausa land and Zaria, and more recent biographies of people

who live in the traditional city and sometimes participated in its traditional administration. Particular examples of the first kind of memoirs are those written by Clapperton (1828), who was involved in two trips to Hausa land; one under the leadership of Major Denham and starting from the Northern part of Africa to Kano and thereafter to Sokoto in 1822 to 1824, and the second one from Bight of Benin on the Atlantic through Zaria to Sokoto in 1828. Another one is the account of Staudinger, (1889) whose extensive travels in Hausa land in the later part of the 19th century was published in the form of a travel memoir in 1889. Examples of the second category are found in the published works of Orr (1965) and Robinson (1900) all giving accounts of their experience in the administration of Hausa land and an insight into Hausa culture and society of the period. Example of the last category is found in the work of Dalhatu and Hassan (2000), chronicling the biography of the current Emir of Zaria. The biography gives a history of the emirate, along with the biography of the Emir.

3.3.2.1.3 Archival Material

Historical material was sourced from two archival sources; the British archives at Kew in London and the National Archives at Kaduna, Nigeria. Both archives have material related principally to the colonial period. The materials are in the form of original communications, reports and information that was processed as part of everyday colonial governance. The archives in Kaduna had more of information used in every day governance, while both archives had information processed as part of the government reporting process. The search for material from the two sources yielded some documents. The utility of the archives for the research however proved limited in view of the limited period covered by the available material and the fact that many scholars had already harvested much of the available information and made them available as easily obtainable published materials.

3.3.2.1.4 Unpublished Government Reports and Academic Research Products

A search for unpublished government documents and report and other academic research products was undertaken as part of documentary material sourcing. Because of the absence of a systematic process of public authority documentation and reporting process in the public domain, it was not possible to identify good sources of information from government documents or reports. The only very useful source that was identified was the

Master plan of Zaria prepared for the Ministry of Lands and Survey, Kaduna State (DURP ABU, 1979).

The search for information from unpublished research products, however, proved to be a rich source of information for the research. Several sources were identified which provided valuable information towards addressing the research questions, particularly in respect of identifying change in public space. Among the very prominent ones include Mama (1966), Ebuga (1984) and Achi (1985). Mama D. K (1966) presented an academic study of a sector of Zaria city based on physical observation. The covered sector started from the Market to Kofar Gayan, with the road connecting the two locations almost in the center of the sector. The researcher noted that a sectional profile through the road will reveal physical characteristics that are comparable to sectional profiles taken from the market to other gates. This source gave one of the clearest pictures of the situation of early post independence physical space of Zaria and some of the significant locations and symbolisms associated with public space. The study provided very useful information on the morphology and physical characteristics of the sector. Being one of the very few post independence direct sources of information, it proved invaluable in facilitating the understanding of public space in the later colonial and early period of independence. The major limitation of the study is its restriction to a sector. Ebuga (1984) studied the central area of Zaria city as part of a broader study of Zaria and Sokoto aimed at developing principles for guiding the renewal of old city centers in Northern Nigeria. The report included detailed raw data collected from the field. The data and information contained in the report was found to be very useful, even though it was limited by a lack of the reflection of spatiality in the data and its analysis. Achi (1985) studied the evolution and function of Zaria city walls up to 1903 as part of a broader study of city walls in the savannah region. The study provided useful information about the form, function and role of the walls of Zaria in everyday social life during the Jihad period. Though, sometimes a repetition of already published sources, the study provides information about a period with very limited sources.

3.3.2.1.5 Published Academic Research Product

Invaluable in facilitating the research are the myriad of published sources which contained little pieces of information that was combined to understand and identify change in the public space of Zaria, as well as explain why the change is happening in the way it is. The

sources are too numerous to enumerate, but some of the most important ones include Urquhart (1977) Moughtin (1985) Smith (1960) and Hogben (1967). Urquhart's (1977) book on Urban Landscape in the Hausa cities was an invaluable source of information regarding physical aspects of the city as well as the activities and people of the city. Moughtin's (1985) book also falls in the class of Urquhart, though biased towards the architecture of the Hausa people. The Book presents valuation information regarding the morphological organization of the fabric of the city. Smith (1960) wrote a classical book on the evolution of government in Zazzau from the Pre-jihad period to the colonial period. The book facilitated an understanding of the social and political structures of the city and was particularly important in enabling an understanding of the cultural setting of public space.

3.3.2.1.6 Other Sources

Other sources that have been used in the research include published journal articles and the internet. A number of articles were found from both local Nigerian journals and foreign ones which contributed to addressing the research questions. Some journal articles were sources through the internet. The internet also facilitated access to some unpublished materials from personal websites. Websites were also found dedicated to some of the Hausa cities though there was none for Zaria.

3.3.2 Data Analysis

In approaching the analysis of data in the research, it was necessary to first confront the issue of subjectivity versus objectivity in view of the predominantly historical and qualitative nature of the research. Historical research is constructed between subjectivity and objectivity. Subjectivity is displayed in the choice of subject and in the search for and interpretation of evidence. Objectivity in the choice of data and the construction of past history is however what gives a historical account its validity. In this research the biography of the researcher and his intimate knowledge of Zaria and Hausa society, which informed the choice of subject, is acknowledged. This intimate knowledge of the context had to, however, be balanced by an objective approach to the analysis of data in the whole research. The objective approach included developing procedures for the handling and analysis of evidence and the use of multiple and cross referenced sources for the reconstruction of history, whenever the availability of data permitted. The analysis of data in the research followed a two step procedure. The first was the sorting, categorization and

organization of the collected information, and the second step was the analysis of the sorted data to identify changes in public space and derive explanatory theories for why the changes happen in the way they did. The steps were not executed as discrete procedures. Rather as data is organized and fed into evidence based analysis of change, the need for more supporting data was sometimes identified, which involved going back to data sources.

3.3.2.1 Data Sorting and organization

The fieldwork and documentary methods applied to the research served as the two main sources of data. Data sorting and organization also reflected the dual methods of data sourcing.

3.3.2.1.1 Fieldwork Data Sorting, Organization and Analysis

Raw data from the field work was gathered in the form of questionnaires, both field observation and interview, in the form of taped interview and in the form of photographs. Each form of data was handled differently. The questionnaires and photographs provided information only in respect of the contemporary public space of the city. The first step in the organization of the questionnaire information was to compile the responses to each question in a single document. In the case of the field observation questionnaire, questions 1 and 2 dealing with place identification and place setting were compiled in one document and questions 4 and 5 dealing with people in space and activities and events in place respectively were compiled in another document. For the field interview questionnaire, questions 2 and 3 dealing with activities in place under observation and in other city spaces respectively were compiled in one document and question 4 dealing with social structuration and place symbolism was compiled in another document. Once the summaries were prepared, the next step involved identifying information that could be presented in tabular form for ease of analysis. Thus a table, was for example, prepared listing all observation spaces with a ranking of activities that were observed in the space, and a table was prepared from the interview compilation which recorded responses regarding short term and long term changes and the causes of the changes against each respondent.

The organization of photographs involved sorting them by quarter, location where they were taken, date and time. This activity was essentially carried out while the field work was ongoing because the photographs were captured in a digital format. As for the detailed biography interviews, the taped interviews were collected, listened to and transcribed into a

written format. The transcribed material was used directly in analysis to support the identification of change and in the explanation of change. The transcript of the interview provided information on both contemporary as well as extant public space.

3.3.2.1.2 Documentary Data Collection, Sorting and Organization

The identification of documentary data used in the research and its collection and categorization was viewed as the starting point of evidence based analysis. Two types information were sought from documentary data collection; information to facilitate the understanding of the history and cultural setting of each period, and information to enable the understanding of the form of public space in each period and to facilitate the identification of change across periods. The process of information collection was driven by the overall research objectives, and the need to address the specific questions embodied in the scope of the research and to ensure that all historical periods are adequately covered. Once a source was identified, it was reviewed to establish the availability of relevant information. The identified relevant information was collected. The information was then categorized according to subject, dimension and period in folders. The collected information was later translated into a digital form for use in analysis.

3.3.2.2 Analyzing Evidence and Identifying and Explaining Change

The focus of analysis in the research was twofold: first to identify the historical and cultural setting in each period of the study and second to examine and identify changes in public space across all the historical period. Analysis of data in the first case involved a review of available documentary sources to reconstruct the history of the city's development and to identify significant cultural transformation currents in each historical period. This involved sifting through sources to literary reconstruct events and their historical sequence, and examining the impact of the events on the social, political, economic and symbolic structures of society. Analysis in the second case proceeded from sorted fieldwork data to documentary data. Analysis in this case started from developing a picture of patterns in each period from processed data. Information for this aspect was sorted by period and dimension. Once a sufficiently clear picture of patterns in each period was arrived at, the next step was to compare patterns between periods and isolate changes by dimension across all periods and to specifically answer the research questions. This process was iterative in nature until a point was reached when available data could not provide any new insight on changes.

Evidence for patterns in contemporary public space was essentially derived from the analysis of fieldwork data. From the compilation of the questions and its tabulations, further study and analysis was carried out to discern patterns by public space dimensions - physical, social, and symbolic. In the social aspects for example, analysis of question 4 allowed the extraction of information on the pattern of distribution of people by ethnicity, gender and age groups. Cross analysis of the information on gender and age groups enabled the identification of information about specific groups' in particular public places. All the information derived from the analysis of the two questionnaires were further cross vetted with information from photographic surveys of the city and also with information from the detailed biographical survey. The detailed biographical survey also allowed us to construct typical biographical paths in the city over the course of different lengths of time and age groups. Temporal variations were usually ascertained by discussions with residents as well as from observation and intimate knowledge and experience of the city. Morphological analysis was used for the examination of physical issues. This principally involved identifying two dimensional patterns and structure from the acquired imagery of the city and three-dimensional form from the analysis of both imagery and photographs of the city.

The analysis of documentary data to understand historical patterns in public space, as earlier mentioned, went hand in hand with the process of collection. Analysis was facilitated by the development of different types of tables and forms, which enabled the organization of data by issue, dimension, and period. As sources were collated, reviewed and relevant information extracted and appropriately organized by issue, dimension and period, a gradual understanding of patterns in the public space of each period and how they are changing within the period developed. The types of information acquired included descriptions, observations, commentary, tabulated information, photographs and maps. The understanding of patterns was sometimes facilitated by additional analysis such as; morphological analysis to understand spatial patterns or calculate relevant values, and photo analysis, to facilitate identification of activities and people in public places.

The process of identifying change across periods was also facilitated by the use of tabulation and forms.³⁴ Information from the analysis of fieldwork data was combined together with information from documentary analysis and detailed biographical survey, to compare patterns in public space across the three historical periods, issue by issue and

dimension by dimension to identify change. Different types of tools and techniques were used to facilitate this analysis of the study sources and data to identify change. These included morphological analysis for data of a spatial nature, typological classifications and analysis, quantitative techniques, such frequency, ranking and averaging, for the analysis of quantitative data such as opinion surveys and social data aggregation, and photographic analysis. These tools and techniques were also invaluable in facilitating the communication of the research findings. The identified changes were thereafter organized by dimension to enable a sequential understanding of change.

Once analysis has led to the identification of change by dimension, the next step was to formulate explanatory theories to account for why the changes had taken place in the way they did. This was undertaken in two steps. The first step was a review of the historical and cultural setting in the various periods to conceptualize it as a dynamic process and identify the drivers shaping change in time in the society. The drivers of change are defined as forces that significantly alter cultural life either from a political, social, economic or symbolic perspective or a combination of these. The interconnections of social life made this a challenging task in view of the inability to sometimes clearly differentiate between cause and effect. The second step involved relating the forces or drivers of change with cultural transformation and specific changes observed in public space to derive explanations of why change happened in a particular way. In this way, the study was able to show how cultural transformation resulting from forces of change account for why public space is changing in a particular way in time. Effort was always exerted to avail of changes and causal linkages already established in the literature and to validate causal linkages and explanatory accounts from the research literature whenever it is possible.

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter presents the conceptual approach and techniques applied in the research. A five dimensional approach to public space was adopted, with public space viewed as material space with a social and symbolic dimension, situated within a cultural setting with both public space and cultural setting in a dynamic process of historical becoming. Structuration and Time geography was adopted as a tool to integrate the five dimensions into a model of public space. The model provided the conceptual bases for approaching the issues of the identification and explanation of change embodied in the research objectives. Based on the model, an operational framework was developed for approaching the case

study. The framework provided tools for examining public space in particular historical periods, for comparison across period to identify changes over time and for explaining the changes by relating them to cultural transformation going on in society. The model and the operational framework provided a means for undertaking the situated examination of public space, where practices were viewed and understood in their local context rather than from grand narratives.

The time scale of the research was divided into three periods; Jihad, Colonial and Post-Colonial. The scope of the research was limited to specific questions relating to the three public space dimensions of physical, social and symbolic. Concerns about the availability of data, among others, led to an early decision to use both fieldwork and documentary methods in the execution the research. Data sourcing and analysis reflected the use of the two methods. Analysis in the study essentially consisted of sorting and organizing data to develop an understanding of both cultural transformation process and public space patterns in each historical period. Comparison of public space patterns across historical periods led to the identification of changes in public space, organized by dimension. Explanations for the change were derived by linking cultural transformation with observed changes in public space. This chapter prepares the stage for the presentation of the research findings in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 4: THE HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND URBAN SPACE SETTING OF ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE

"World-wide urban transformation exhibits many divergent patterns in different regions and places. Yet, wherever we witness examples of substantial urban change – large scale urban development and renewal programs or other alterations in culture and urban life ... – these local instances of transformation are in some way or other specific manifestations of the same global forces." (Sassen, 1991 in Kalltorp et al 1997, p.1)

4.0 Introduction

This chapter establishes the historical, cultural and spatial setting within which Zaria's public space is situated in the period 1804 to 2004 AD. The chapter is divided into three sections. The chapter first section examines the broader cultural setting of the traditional Hausa cities. The second section examines the history and cultural setting of Zaria's public space in the different historical period. The last section examines the spatial setting of Zaria's public space in terms of the metropolitan context, and the urban physical and social setting.

4.1 The Cultural Setting of the Traditional Hausa Cities

This section examines in a broad and brief way, the cultural setting of the traditional Hausa cities. The setting is examined in terms of the characteristics of the locality, social composition, the systems of beliefs, values and norms, political organization, economy and spatial organization in terms of rural-urban organization and the form of cities.

4.1.1 The Physical Setting of the Hausa Traditional Cities

The Hausa traditional cities are located in the northern part of Nigeria. The area is made up of a wide belt of savannah grassland, characterized by undulating plains broken by a series of inselbergs with the land becoming flat towards the north. The climate of the region is divided into three seasons: a cool dry season lasting from October to February with temperatures ranging from 11 degrees to 25 degrees centigrade; a hot dry season lasting from March to May with temperatures ranging from 20 to 38 degrees centigrade; and a warm and wet rain season lasting from June to September with temperature ranges of between 20 to 30 degrees centigrade and rainfall of up to 1000mm. The rain season is characterized by short thunderous showers. Winds alternate between a North-East and

South-West tropical trade winds, which blow during the dry and rain season respectively. Night and day are virtually evenly divided through out the year.

Zaria is located in the middle of Hausa land (Figure 4-1), at about latitude 11 degrees North, and Longitude 7 degrees 6 minutes East at the foot of the Madarkaci hill. The geology of the Zaria area consists of igneous and metamorphic rocks of the Pre-Cambrian Basement Complex. Older granite rocks of the complex are exposed as inselbergs and low outcrops in the city and its environment. The soil consists of deposited silty sand overlying decomposed sedimentary rock. The soils have poor permeability and are waterlogged in the wet season. The climate of Zaria is typical of most of Hausa land. The seasons are divided into four: Hot dry period '*Bazara*', which starts from February to May; wet season (*Damina*) from June to September; Harvest season '*Kaka*' from October to November; and Cool dry harmattan season '*Rani*' from December to January. Temperatures vary with a mean maximum of 35.8 degrees Centigrade in April to a minimum of 14 degrees Centigrade in January. Relative humidity ranges from an average maximum of 86.5% in August to a minimum of 25.7% in January. The mean annual rainfall is 1110mm.

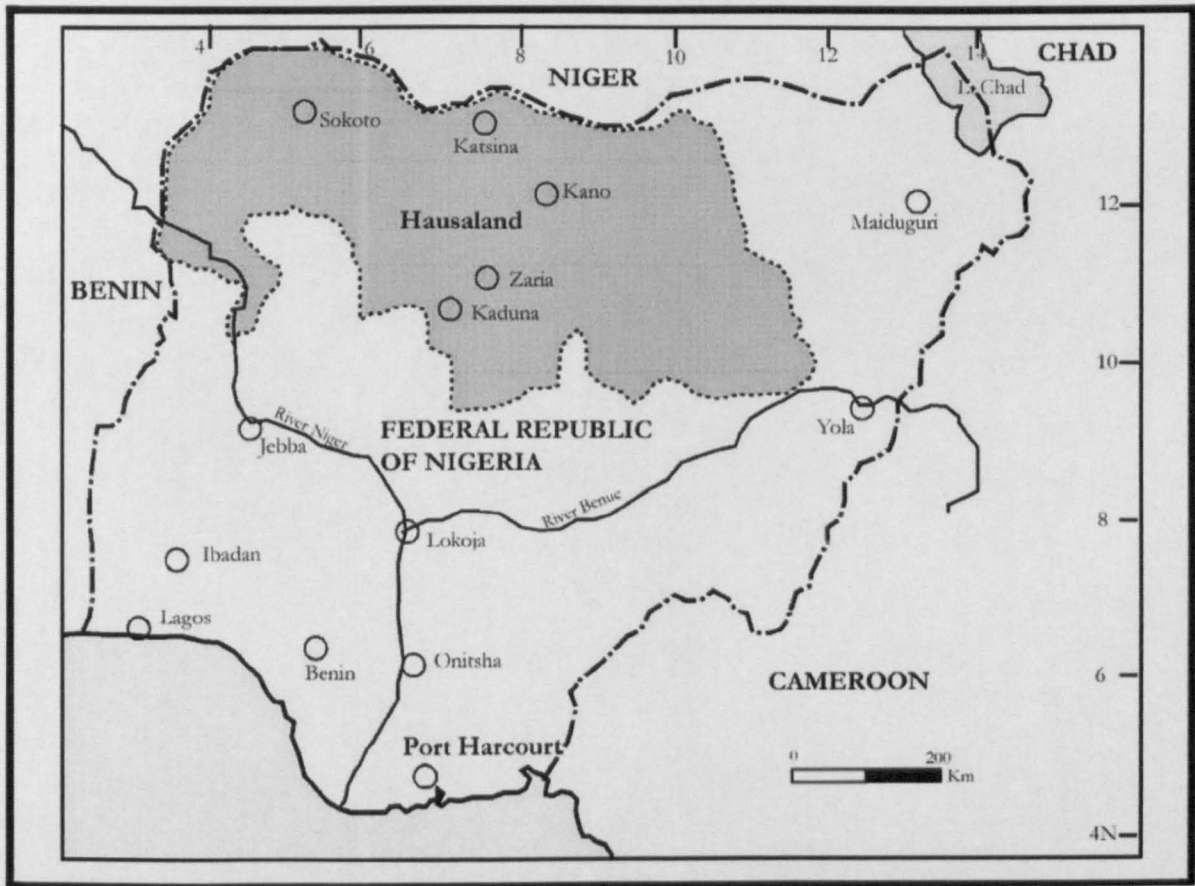


Figure 4-1: Map of Nigeria showing Hausa land

4.1.2 Social Composition and Organization

The city and society in Hausa land is by character composed of a heterogeneous cosmopolitan community of people with diverse origins, ethnic affiliation, lineages and occupation. Reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of the society, majority of the people who call themselves Hausa have different ethnic origins (Ifemesia, 1965, p.90).³⁵ Ifemesia (1965, p.91) points out that there appears to have been an original Negro stock, which formed the nucleus of the present-day Hausa. This stock, according to him, was expanded and transformed by immigration from the coastal areas of West and North Africa. Migration figures prominently in all traditions relating to the foundation of the Hausa States (Smith 1970A, cited in Urquhart 1977, p.6). The cities emerged, as Smith notes, “not so much as a result of the natural increase of a single community but rather as centres of immigration.” Migration to the cities was fuelled by the role of the cities as centres of production and commerce and entrepôts for trade originating from the Sahara in the north and the coastal areas to the south and also by the security provided in the cities. Migrants were on the other hand created by land shortages, family disputes, raiding and warfare (Urquhart 1977, p.6). Migration and interaction was assisted by the open geographical nature of the land, “which made social intercourse easy and indeed inevitable” (Ifemesia 1965, p.91).

The two elements that bind the diverse people of Hausa society together are language and religion. The Hausa language is the strongest binding force enabling people to interact and communicate and share ideals. The language has evolved as the most widespread lingua franca of West Africa and is next only to Swahili in the African continent. Traditional Hausa society is structurally organized into a hierarchy of social classes. At the top of the social hierarchy are the rulers (*masarauta*) followed by Islamic scholars (*Mallamai*). Wealthy people (*attajirai*), usually merchants come next, and finally the commoners (*talakawa*) (Daba 1986, p.25). Within the various social classes, status is further arranged with men on the top followed by women, children and slaves or servants. The high socially placed people generally act as patrons to the lower social classes. The hierarchical social structure is usually not manifestly expressed spatially.³⁶

4.1.3 Systems of Beliefs, Norms and Values

Religion is among the strongest elements that binds the Hausa people together. The earliest traditional Hausa religion is called *Bori*. The religion is centred on the worship of spirits,

spirit-possession and communication with the spirits. The spirits had the ability to afflict and cure people, as well as provide different types of protection. *Bori* Religious beliefs dictated the choice of settlement location, and there were rituals and rites for founding cities, markets, houses, and also for building on particular sites (Nicholas, 1968, cited Urquhart 1977, p.8). The traditional religion has gradually disappeared with only a few pockets of its practitioners found in the cities and even then, in most cases combining it with Islamic practices. Islam has become the most widespread religion in Hausa land. Evidence suggests that the Islamic region was introduced to the Sudan by about the 11th century (Hogben 1967, p.50), but it did not become institutionalized until about the 15th and 16th Century (Hunwick 1965, p.124).³⁷ Islam upon its entry into Hausa land was adopted chiefly by the ruling group as a class religion (Ifemesia, 1967, p.94; Webster & Boahen, 1967, p.15). The faith ran parallel but did not displace the traditional religion. The religion remained an elite religion until after the Fulani jihad, when it became the official religion of the majority (Webster & Boahen 1967, p.15). The introduction of Islam and conversion to it proceeded slowly through the missionary work of pilgrims, merchants and Islamic Teachers (*mallamai*). Islam gradually became integrated into the people's way of life and has evolved as a dominant cultural force (Ifemesia 1965, p.93). The Maliki School of Islamic jurisprudence is the most predominant in the region and all the social customs, norms, values, political, judicial and other social institutions have developed along the lines of the school.

An important effect of the introduction of Islam to the region was the increase in the value of education. There was an obligation to seek education and young children were obliged to attend local Koranic schools. Young people with aptitude moved about the country seeking for more qualified teachers. In time such young men may gather pupils of their own, while continuing to study under more learned men. Hausa scholars have travelled to famous educational centres such as Agades, to the north, where they gathered with scholars from other places to discuss law, philosophy and the affairs of the Muslim world. Occasionally some of them moved to educational centres in North Africa and the Middle East. Scholars were usually categorised into two groups; the settled ones who lived in the cities and interacted with wealth and power, and those who preferred to wander, preaching and teaching as they moved (Webster & Boahen 1967, p.5). The second group were the ones critical of the abuse of political authority and who formed the backbone of the Jihad that swept the Sudan in the 19th century.

4.1.4 Political Organization

Available evidence points to the existence of developed structures of political governance under the headship of a King (*Sarki*) during the earliest period of the formation of the Hausa states. The introduction of Islam gradually provided an important support for the customary social and political order, enabling the integration of political power with ritual sanctions and forms. The political structure consists of a King (*Sarki*, later after the Fulani Jihad, Emir) assisted by a coterie of chief ministers and territorial advisers in charge of particular departments of state, subject to the *Sarki*'s overall control (Ifemesia 1965, p.108-9).³⁸ Some of the positions are hereditary, while some are appointed. The *Sarki* had absolute political power. The powers of the *Sarki* were moderated by a central council composed of the chief ministers and territorial officials who, though serving in an advisory capacity, could not easily be ignored. Also embedded within the structures of governance is a developed and institutionalized judicial system. Prior to Islam, complaints and cases were brought to territorial title holders such as village or district heads to settle outside the capital city, while in the capital city the King sitting in his court (*Fada*) listens to grievances and dispenses justice on matters that were not of great significance. On serious matters such as grievous injury or murder, the king consults with his councillors to arrive at a judgment on particular cases. With the progressive introduction of Islam, the Muslim system of justice based on the Maliki Code was gradually adopted. This led to the separation of the judiciary from the executive, with judicial functions taken over by a special class of professional magistrate who are versed in knowledge of both local customs and the *shariah* (Ifemesia 1965, p.109).

4.1.5 Economy

The pre-Jihad Hausa cities were widely known as centres of economic production and distribution. Historical accounts, while pointing to the lack of political coordination among the states, does indicate a certain degree of economic cooperation and specialization. Daura and Katsina were specialized in trade and commerce, Kano and Rano in craft production, Zaria in slave procurement and trading, and Gobir in war making (war leader or commander in chief) (Ifemesia 1965, p.91; Urquhart 1977, p.5). Within the individual settlements, the cities had a structured economy that was a cocktail of different types of production and commercial activities. Production was craft oriented. Common craft production activities in the Hausa cities included dyeing and cloth production, tanning and

leather works, blacksmithing and building. Production activities were organized based on guild system, which were usually spatially clustered together. Commercial goods and products traded in the Hausa cities came from as far away as North Africa and the Middle East to the north and from the coastal and riverine areas of West Africa to the south. The Hausa cities were usually located as centres in the midst of outlying rural agricultural areas (Urquhart 1977, p.4). Despite their central location, the cities were also major centres of agricultural production, as they usually enclosed large agricultural lands within their walls. A significant proportion of the traditional city's population engaged in agriculture and even the non-agricultural population would normally engage in part-time farming.

Hausa cities had an elaborate and structured taxation system which ensured the flow of resources to rulers. The taxation system had its roots in Islamic practices. Taxes were collected in the form of: *Zakkah*, a tax on available income authorized by the Quran for charitable purposes; the *jangali* paid on livestock; the *kharaj* (*kudin kasa*) or land tax; and the *jizyah* (*gandu*) or capitation tax, generally levied on conquered peoples and usually paid in slaves. There were also taxes paid on professions, for instance, by craftsmen, butchers, dyers, prostitutes, dancing girls, and others. Dues were moreover levied on 'luxury' crops, such as tobacco, onions, and sugar cane. Tolls were collected on the caravan routes and fees on markets. *Gaisuwa* (tribute) was brought by all men visiting their superiors (Ifemesia 1965, p.110).

4.1.6 Spatial Organization

4.1.6.1 Urban-Rural Organization

Hausa society is spatially organized into a hierarchy of settlements varying from the most rural to the most urban. This hierarchical organization is aptly manifested in the language, where there are terms describing varying degrees of urbanity. Agricultural or nucleated farm settlements or hamlets are referred to as '*Kauyuka*' (sing. *Kauye*). Cities on the other hand are referred to as '*Birane*' (Sing. *Birni*). In between the *Kauye* and the *Birni* are found mid size villages and towns referred to as *Garuruwa* ((Sing. *Gari*) (Ma'aruf, 1985, p.16; Smith, 1970, p.341; DURP, 1979, p.2). The various elements of the settlement system are associated not only with distinct cultural and linguistic connotations but also with distinct functional and morphological characteristics. The hamlets and villages generally function as centres of agricultural production. Most villagers are farmers, with a small segment engaging in trade and craft production. Morphologically, the settlements are organized as

scattered familial homesteads located in open areas of agricultural land. Some villages do grow to become significant centres of trade and craft production. The cities (*Birane*) on the other hand are centres of social and political organization. The city is usually made up of a large self sufficient community united by trade and industry located within a walled enclave.

4.1.6.2 Urban Space of the Traditional city

Figure 4-2 shows the conceptual organization of typical traditional Hausa cities. The typical city is walled and protected by moats. The walls (*Ganuwa*) are made up of massive mud bulwarks, about 60 centimetres to about 1 meter thick, and are penetrated by at least four fortified gates (sing. *Kofa*; pl. *Kofofi*) oriented towards the cardinal points. The walls were occasionally extended to accommodate the expansion of the city or project the status of the ruler. The gates serve as control points and points of toll collection by day and could be closed by night. Some cities have seasonal streams (*Fadama*) crossing them, providing a source of drinking water and a means of irrigation in the dry season. Traditional Cities usually enclose large laterite capped hills, such as the Dala hill in Kano, which have religious significance as home of spirits (*Iskoki*) and also served as last lines of defence. The cities also have markets for long distance trade, which may sometimes be located outside the gates (Urquhart 1977, p.8). The built area of the city is usually clustered in two

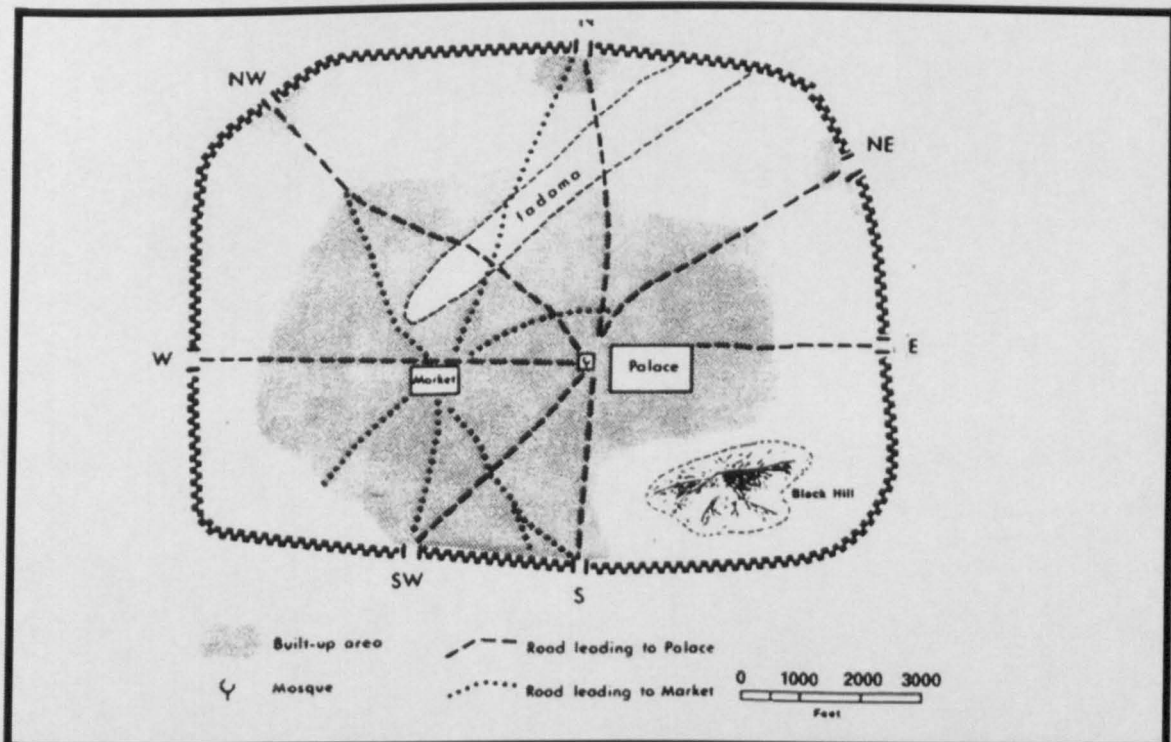


Figure 4.2: The conceptual organization of Hausa-Fulani cities (*after Urquhart, 1977*)

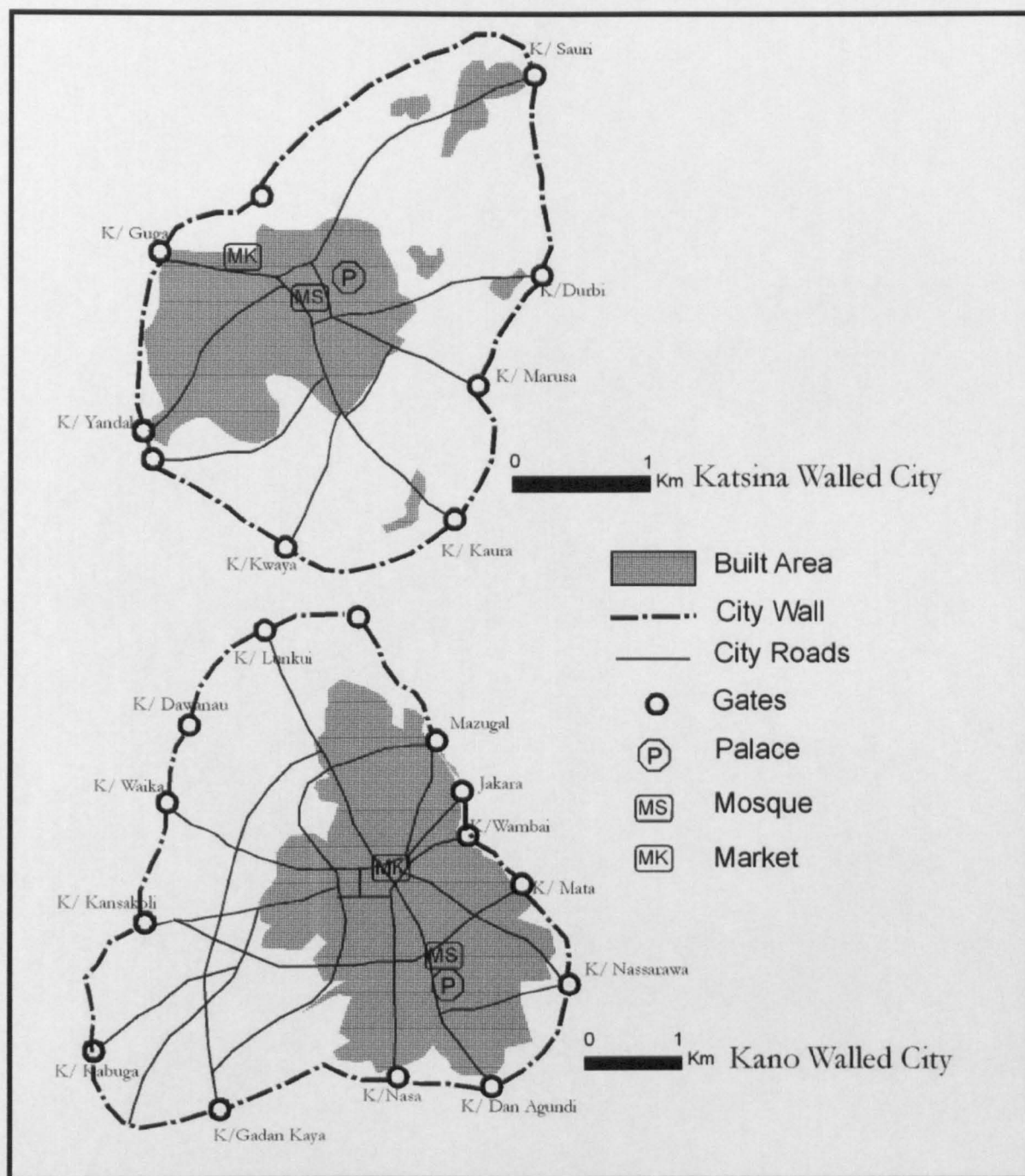


Figure 4-3: Urban space of the Kano and Katsina traditional cities

areas; around the mosque and palace and the market. Areas around the market usually have a higher density compared to other areas of the city. Roads and pathways radiate from the two focal points of market and palace, connecting each other and the gates of the city (Urquhart 1977, p.9; Saad 1981, p.33). Figure 4-3 shows examples of the Kano and Katsina traditional cities.

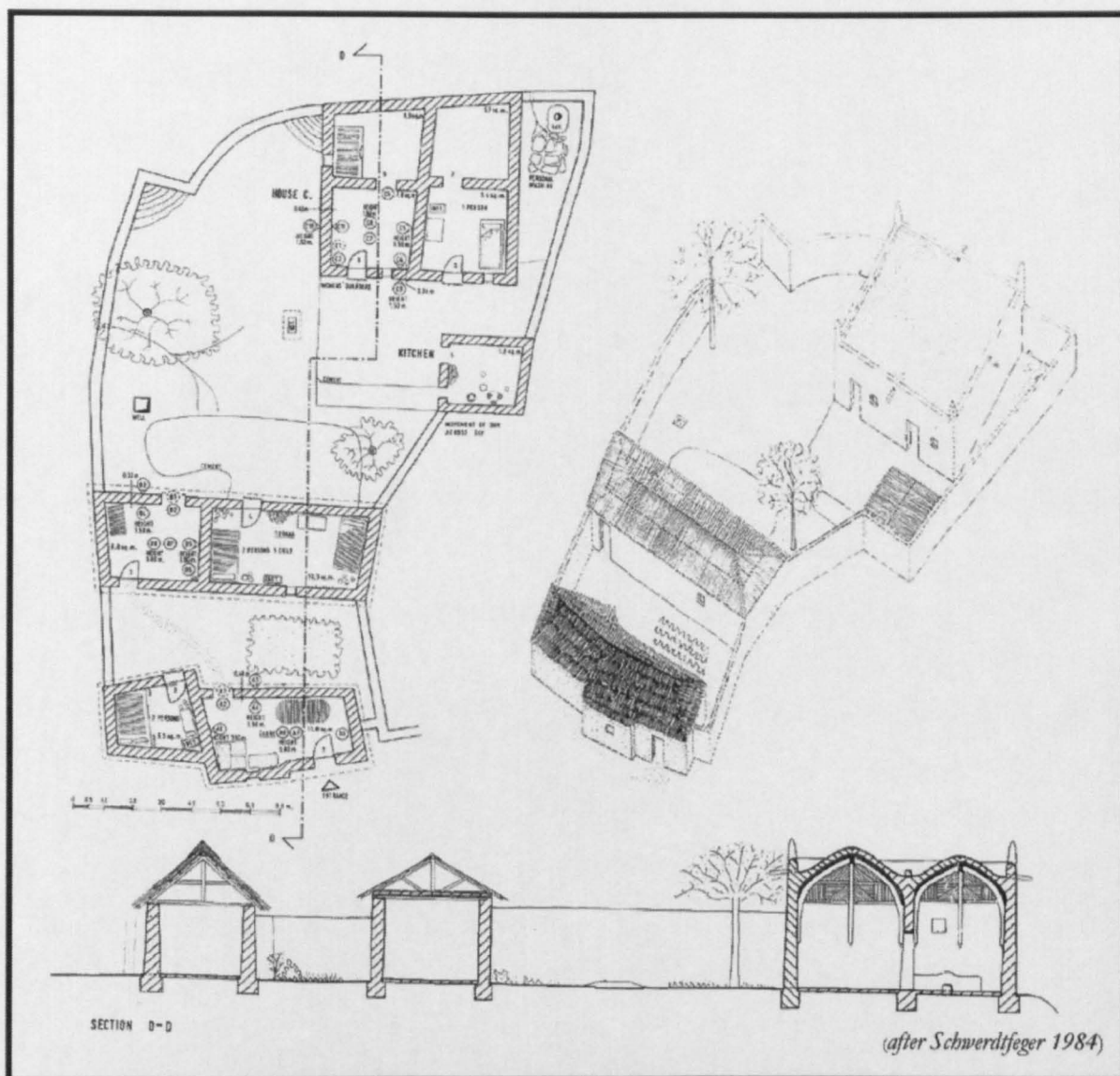


Figure 4-4: Layout of a traditional Hausa compound

The material space of the city is hierarchically organized into districts, wards and residential clusters (Ma'aruf 1985, p.11). Traditionally, the city is usually divided into four large districts for administrative purposes, with each representing a cardinal section.³⁹

Districts are headed by a representative of the Emir (*Wakili*). Each district is further divided into a number of wards, each with a ward head (Ma'aruf, 1985, p.23). The wards represent a unit of social organization of the city. The wards are usually distinguished by ethnic, familial, or occupational affiliations. The names of the wards usually reflect the nature of its affiliation. The residential clusters represent the lowest hierarchy in the spatial organization of the city. The clusters usually consist of a group of houses fronting a common space or shared facility, such as a mosque. The lowest morphological unit of the city is the residential unit of the compound. The residential compounds could hold either a

single household or a multiple households, with generations of the same family living together. The compounds are usually shut off from the public by high walls with entry through a series of intermediary rooms and spaces (*Zauruka* and *Cikin gida*). Figure 4-4 shows an example of the organization of a traditional Hausa compound.

4.1.6.3 Public-Private Divide of Urban Space

Hausa cities have a hierarchical public-private territorial organization of urban space that is rooted in cultural and Islamic practices and is expressed in residential privacy and the inward orientation of the house (Urquhart 1977, p.9; Ma'aruf 1985, p.20). The spaces of a city are arranged hierarchically, from the most public spaces functioning at the macro level of the city to the most private spaces functioning at the micro level of the residential neighbourhood and house unit. Between the two extremes are found spaces with different shades of publicness and privateness (Ma'aruf 1985, p.20-4). The public and private characterization of urban spaces determines the composition of social elements as well as activities in the spaces. The *Dandali*- a prominent square located in front of the emir's palace, and the market are the two most prominent public spaces functioning at the macro level of the traditional city. At the residential level, small community areas between compounds serve as the focus of daily religious observances and interaction. The road network, acting as the premier open public space of the traditional city provide a connecting framework bridging focal points with residential neighbourhoods and gates.

4.2 The Historical and Cultural Setting of Urban Life in Zaria

4.2.1 The History of Zaria Prior to the Jihad

The early history of Zaria is linked with the Bayajidda legend in the Zaria Chronicle.⁴⁰ The founding of Zaria as a kingdom is traced to Gunguma, the son of Bawo and grandson of the legendary Bayyajidda, around the 10th century (Hogben 1967, p115; Dalhatu & Hassan 2000, p.3)⁴¹. Tradition indicates that the early rulers settled in many other places before finally settling at Turunku, a settlement that has survived to the present day. The establishment of Zaria in its current location as the capital of Zazzau state is attributed to Bakwa Turunku, the twenty-second Habe ruler of Zazzau in the Zaria Chronicle (1536-1539 A.D.). There are very few written records about the period and the few available sources often provide conflicting accounts of the establishment of the modern city (Hogben 1967, p.116).⁴² The predominant story holds that Bakwa was revered as a great ruler who freed the country from terror attacks by the Kwarrarafa and Jukun tribes (Ifemesia 1965,

p.102; Schwerdtfeger 1971). He was said to have found Turunku too small a capital and water supply too precarious and hence transferred first to the area around the Kufena hills and later to the current location of Zaria. At the current location, he was instantly attracted to an acacia tree (*Gawo*) close to which he immediately decided to build a house and that became the royal palace of Zazzau (Dalhatu & Hassan 2000, p.15).⁴³ The construction of the palace led to the establishment of Zaria town as the capital of Zazzau. Historical accounts indicate that Bakwa Turunku had two daughters, Amina and Zaria. He allowed his eldest daughter Amina, to control political power as a Queen and then named the seat of power after his second daughter. Queen Amina is generally recognized as being responsible for raising the profile and prestige of Zazzau and making it one of the greatest kingdoms in its locality (Dalhatu & Hassan 2000, p.4).⁴⁴ The Kano Chronicle recounting the exploits of Amina notes that:

At this time Zaria, under Queen Amina, conquered all the towns as far as Kwarrafa and Nupe. Every town paid tribute to her. The Sarkin Nupe sent forty eunuchs and ten thousand kolas to her. She first had eunuchs and kolas in Hausa land. Her conquest extended over thirty-four years. In her time the whole of the products of the west (*From Zaria*) were brought to Hausa land. (Ifemesia 1965, p.103)

Amina is also credited with building the original wall around Zaria which is named after her (Hogben 1967, p.116). Queen Amina died at Idah, on her way to wage war and is believed to have been succeeded by her sister, Zaria.⁴⁵ In the two centuries following the reign of Zaria, Zaria as a city state became the most extensive of all the Hausa States. Hausa land in this period also came under the influence of the Songhai Empire first and later the Bornu Empire (Ifemesia 1965, p.103). In about 1734, Zazzau in common with other Hausa states was overrun by Bornu and for the rest of the century, until the Fulani conquest, paid tribute to Bornu. A Bornu official, the Kacalla, resided permanently at the court of the Sarkin Zazzau and Zaria kings were installed by a representative of the *Mai of Bornu*, the Magajin Malam (Hogben 1967 p.117-8; Ifemesia 1965, p.105). The Zaria chronicle lists a total of sixty Habe rulers starting with Gunguma the first ruler and ending with Makau who was driven out during the 1804 Jihad (Dalhatu & Hassan 2000, p.5).

4.2.2 History and Cultural Setting in the Jihad Period (1804-1902)

4.2.2.1 The Jihad in Zaria

The Fulani Jihad was executed in Zaria by Malam Musa, A Fulani man originally from Mali who has been preaching the Islamic faith for many years in Zaria. On hearing about

Shehu Dan Fodio's uprising against the ruler of Gobir, Mallam Musa left Zaria for Gobir and was in time to witness the Fulani Victory in June 1804. Mallam Musa could then not bring the Jihad to Zaria as the aged ruler of Zazzau, Jatau, was a good Muslim who accepted the Shehu's authority. Mallam Musa left Gobir, along with a Borno Fulani, Mallam Yamusa, to join forces in invading Kano (Hogben 1967, p.118-9). The death of the ruler of Zazzau, Jatau and the ascension of his son Makau, however, changed the situation in Zaria. Makau was notorious and obeyed the instructions issued by King of Gobir, to ban Islamic preaching and drive all Islamic scholars out of the territory of Zazzau. In doing so, he denounced the peaceful understanding between Dan Fodio and his father (Dalhatu & Hassan 2000 p.9)." The situation led Mallam Musa to leave the Jihad forces invading Kano, along with his deputy Mallam Yamusa and head for Zaria to execute the jihad there.

There are different accounts of the Jihad in Zaria from Fulani and Habe sources. According to the deposed Habe rulers, the story of the Fulani conquest of Zaria is that Malam Musa and Yamusa with a force of 333 men fell upon Makau on a day in 1804 whilst he was at the Eid prayer ground outside Zaria town. Though Makau had many men with him he was defeated because they were surprised without their arms and could not get back inside the city to arm. This version implies that Makau and his Habe followers were engaged in prayers and were therefore not pagans. The Fulani version is that Mallam Musa and Yamusa set for Zaria with a force of seventy four horsemen. Musa entered Zaria from the northwest and drove out the Habe followers of Makau, who fled with their king to Zuba. Makau was alleged to have fled with a force of 3000 followers through a gate located between the Kuyambana and Jatau gates (Hogben 1967, p.118-9). The 1804 Jihad brought an end to the Habe dynasty in Zazzau and they were replaced by Fulani rulers. The Jihad unleashed a chain of events that defined the setting of cultural life during the caliphate period lasting up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

4.2.2.2 Zaria as a Vassal State of Sokoto

The Jihad resulted in the creation of a political union, the Sokoto Caliphate, with its capital in Sokoto Town. Zaria, along with the other Hausa cities became integrated into this political union along with many other cities. Zaria therefore became a vassal state of the Sokoto caliphate. As a vassal state, it was under the direct supervision of Sokoto (Smith 1960, p.73). The nature and exercise of suzerainty by Sokoto over Zaria evolved dynamically throughout the 19th Century, with increasing intervention and involvement by

Sokoto in Zaria's government. Interventions "often marked changes in the structure or function of the Zaria government" (Smith, 1960 p.73), or are essentially the product of the desire to maintain control and mediate the competition for political office, which became common and persisted throughout the century. Sokoto asserted its right to install the emirs of Zaria in 1834 with the installation of the third post-jihad ruler Abdulkarim⁴⁶ (Smith, 1960, p.75). Sokoto also claimed the right to depose the Emirs of Zazzau in 1860, and depositions were subsequently carried out in 1873, 1881, and 1890 (Smith, 1960, p. 75). As a vassal state, Zaria was obliged to pay tribute to Sokoto. Tribute took the form of Bi-annual gifts to both the Sultan and his vizier on the occasion of the Muslim festivals of Eid-al-Kabir and Eid-al-Fitr. The tributes, which consisted of slaves, cloth, horses, mats and cowries, steadily increased in value over the century (Hogben 1967, p.120; Smith 1960, p.74). Sokoto also introduced a *Kudin Sarauta* (Money for installation) around 1845, and from then on it became customary for whoever is appointed king to make "donations of money and goods to both the *Waziri* (Vizier) and the Sultan of Sokoto" (Smith 1960, p.74).

4.2.2.3 Institution of Monarchical Rule

The Fulani jihad resulted in the institution of the Fulani as the new rulers of Zaria. The leader of the Jihad, Mallam Musa, became the first Fulani ruler of the city state. Upon his death in 1821, he was succeeded by his deputy, Mallam Yamusa. Yamusa died in 1835, and the electors' council recommended an outsider, Abdulkarim, a Fulani from Katsina for appointment. This was accepted and he became the third emir of Zaria. By 1860, political developments in the city had resulted in the emergence of four ruling dynasties for the city. The dynasties consisted of the lineages of the first three rulers: the *Mallawa*, descended from Mallam Musa Bamalle the first Fulani ruler; the *Bornawa* descended from Mallam Yamusa, the second Fulani ruler; and the *Katsinawa*, descended from the third ruler Abdulkarim. The fourth dynasty, the *Sullibawa*, emerged in 1855 when a local Fulani of the *Sullibawa* clan, Abdulsalami, was installed as a result of the lack of a suitable candidate from the three established ruling families (Hogben 1967, p.121). The process of the selection of the rulers had also become established by 1860: successive kings should not be chosen from the same dynasty; only the sons of kings were eligible for promotion to the throne; only those princes who had held or were holding territorial office were eligible for promotion (Smith 1960, p.110). A council of four people considered the leading competitors for the throne and prepared a short list of three candidates ranked in the order of their preference.⁴⁷ The emir was selected from the list by the Sultan of Sokoto (Smith

1960, p.110). The Fulani emirs adopted the pomp and pageantry as well as the traditional authority structure (territorial office holders, title holders, occupation officials) of the deposed Hausa rulers. The establishment of the Fulani as a ruling class also encouraged their flow into the city, where they were given plots close to the palace of the ruler and vast amount of farmland outside the city.

The position of Kingship gave the person occupying the position temporary control over all subordinate offices of state and over its resources. The king distributed the offices of state to kinsmen, clients and slaves and had the right to dismiss the holder of any office (Smith 1960, p.104). One outcome of the rise of multiple ruling houses in Zaria was the gradual development of an intense competition for office, particularly that of the king and the practice of clientage. Active competition for office sometimes led to rebellions and attempts to appropriate the throne by force (Smith 1960, p.100).⁴⁸ In competing for office, members of the ruling houses and ordinary citizens become clients of more powerful persons, such as office holders who are eligible for promotion to kingship, in the hope that if they get promoted they would become beneficiaries by virtue of appointment to office. Clientage involved individuals entering into a loose association with an important family or a branch of it, or between one family, or a descent line of it, with another. Client relationship was also sometimes expressed in marriage alliance as a means of cementing family associations. The competition for office and clientage arose because of the benefits of offices for their holders. Offices provided its holders with opportunities for the accumulation of wealth, booty and slaves. Successful clients, who acquired office, "tended to have higher status and greater wealth than their less successful competitors" (Smith 1960, p.81). Differentiation on the basis of status and wealth was also a ground for the allocation of office and such allocation tended to increase differences. There is therefore a circular relationship between noble status, political office and wealth (Smith 1960, p. 81). Commoners were not excluded from this competition and therefore had the opportunity to change their status through successful clientage. Competitions for office led to the progressive appropriation of offices for persons of royal status and inevitably to the revision of old rank orders and evolution of new rank-orders and their differentiation (Smith 1960, p.115). The deposition of the Habe Rulers following the Jihad resulted in the restructuring of the social structure of the city and the emergence of the Fulani as a new ruling class⁴⁹ (Smith, 1960, p.76). The Fulani emerged as major beneficiaries in the

revision of rank orders, appropriating royal and territorial titles throughout the Jihad Period.

4.2.2.4 Nature of Governance and Administration

The Government of Zaria evolved during the Jihad period with the emir enjoying absolute monarchical authority. He not only ruled Zaria as a city state but was also in control of Zaria's vassal states (Smith 1960, p.77). He exercised power over appointments to office, dismissals, promotions, the creation of new offices, and related matters (Smith 1960, p.76). The principal activities of the government included tax and tribute collection, maintenance of law and order and execution of war activities. Tax collection was closely linked to territorial administration and served as a means of remunerating officials engaged in administration. Zaria collected tributes from its vassal states. The amount of the tribute which any one state paid varied slightly from year to year, but Zaria expected a hundred slaves from each of the larger vassal states annually (Smith 1960, p.77). Part of the proceeds of the income of the state was dedicated to funding the various wars to which the state was continuously engaged in throughout the 19th century. The activities of the government of Zaria throughout the 19th century did not include any established program of municipal development or services provision. The only form of development activity undertaken in the capital city was the maintenance of the city walls, which was necessary for defensive and taxation purposes. The King was responsible for the suppression of the improper and oppressive use of political or administrative power (Smith 1960, p.95). He presided over boundary disputes and conflicts regarding pagan customary practices and Islamic law. He also acted as the executive arm of the legal administration, sending offenders to trial and enforcing the Alkali's sentences through his police (*Dogarai*) who were slaves of the throne.

4.2.2.5 Religion and Social Life in the Jihad Period

Religion was the fundamental basis for the Fulani Jihad and the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The governments of the constituent states of the Caliphate, therefore, acquired legitimacy in so far as they provided conditions essential to the maintenance and expansion of the Islamic religion (Smith 1960, p.88). The objectives of the Jihad committed the governments to observe Islamic practices regarding religion and law, and to wage war on infidels. The objectives of the Jihad were reflected in the choice by the first two rulers of the title of '*Mallam*' (Scholar) instead of emir. The Jihad objectives led to the

establishment of a Fulani priesthood position of *Limmamin Jumma'a* (Friday imam) and also of *Alkali* (an appellate Judge). The importance of religion was also reflected in the inclusion of the *Limmamin Juma'a* as a member of the electoral council of Zaria. New city mosque and alkali courts were also constructed. The Islamic value was also reflected in the general organization of the administrative structure, and in fiscal and land tenure systems (Kirk-Green 1962, p.3). Despite the strong influence of Islam in the Jihad Period, Quinn and Quinn (2003) have observed that "the Concept of authority and power were strikingly similar" to that of the deposed Hausa rulers throughout the Jihad period

4.2.2.6 Migration and Social Contact after the Jihad

As a member of the Sokoto Caliphate, Zaria belonged to a larger political and security block. Common security arrangements and government over all Hausa land facilitated communication and the movement of people and goods. The walled city offered adequate protection and tended to attract people from the rural areas. The rural areas were subject to slave raiding and all kinds of plundering, particularly towards the end of the century, which created insecurity and pushed people to the walled cities. Zaria, as with other cities, witnessed substantial migration and movement of people through it during the jihad period. This facilitated trade and the exchange of goods, ideas and practices across the whole region. Zaria was, thus, in active contact with other places and people throughout the nineteenth century, mostly with people from West Africa and the Middle East, and through European travellers and explorers with Western Europe. The location of Zaria as a connection between the south and the North made it a vital link for traders and explorers and facilitated contact, the exchange of ideas and trade. Such contacts have been held to account for the exchange and diffusion of ideas in architecture and decoration and access to artefacts such as the Gunter's scale given by Clapperton to the master builder of Zaria (Saad 1981)⁵⁰.

4.2.2.7 Economy of Zaria in the Jihad Period

Zaria economy in the nineteenth century was centred on agriculture, craft production and trade. Farming was a principal employment in Jihadist Zaria, and Clapperton, describing Zaria around 1820s, mentions the availability of different variety of food stuff in "great sufficiency" (Hogben 1967, p.121). The *Rumada* (farm settlement) gradually evolved over the Jihad period as the principal means of capital investment (Smith 1960, p.81). The establishment of the *Rumada* depended on the availability of slave labour, and so slave

holding became synonymous with agricultural production and with capital accumulation. Slaves were acquired in two ways. The first was through the frequent wars that characterised the century. War was one of the fundamental activities of the government of Zaria. Some wars were defensive but many were offensive. Zaria also participated in wars for the protection of the Caliphate. Clapperton (1838, p. 158) commenting on the situation during the early period of the jihad noted that not a month passes without the Fulani rulers of Zaria undertaking a campaign against the deposed Habe rulers of Zaria, showing how frequent warring was. Mamman Sani, the fifth Fulani Ruler, undertook extensive military campaigns and amassed vast number of slaves and much plunder in the process (Hogben 1967, p121). He at various times also sent his army to help Sokoto to subdue the rebellious Emir Buhari of Hadejia in 1865 (Hogben 1967, p121). Wars afforded an opportunity to plunder the many non-Muslim minority populations living to the south of the capital city for slave purposes. The bulk of the slaves acquired came through wars. The second means of slave accumulation was through tribute payment. Slaves were acquired by the Emirs through tribute payment by vassal states. Zaria in the period was the chief slave supplier to other Hausa states and slaves the most important northbound item of trade to the north and Middle East (Denyer 1978, p.34). Barth who visited in the 1850s, estimated that about five thousand slaves left Kano annually, indicating the level of marauding activities by Zaria (Denyer 1978 p.34). Towards the end of the century, the security of slave property tended to diminish, due to attacks by enemies, increased local kidnapping and the effects of political competition within the state (Smith 1960, p. 82).

Craft production was a major economic activity in the Jihad period and was sometimes practised along with farming. Craft production expanded throughout the 19th century because of the expansion in warfare and trade. The major craft production activities included smelting and smithing, weaving and dyeing, building, tanning and leather goods production. The craft economy was organized into guilds usually with a leader who is given the appellation of a '*Sarki*' (King). The guilds were spatially distributed into defined neighbourhoods and had grafted on to it the system of tax collection. The *Sarki* (or Chief) of each craft guild was appointed to collect the tax from members of that guild, and he in turn appoints others to assist him and gave them appropriate titles (Smith 1962, p.85). Because almost all the craftsmen were Habe, the taxation system also served as a means for them to participate in the government of Zazzau (Smith 1960, p.85).

4.2.3 Historical and Cultural Setting in the Colonial Period (1902-1960)

4.2.3.1 Colonial Administration in Zaria

The Sokoto caliphate survived as a political union of independent city-states for almost a hundred years and only disintegrated with European colonial expansion into the Sudan in the early twentieth century. The British colonial push into Northern Nigeria and Hausa land started in 1900 with the proclamation of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria by Sir Fredrick Lugard in Lokoja. From Lokoja, the colonial administration began expanding their control into northern Nigeria and by April 1901, had brought eight provinces, including Zaria under their control.⁵¹ Zaria was occupied by the British in 1902, when the Emir, Kwassau, came out to salute them (Temple 1922, p573). Kwassau had invited the British to fend off rebellion within his administration and to protect him from raids by the forces of Maradi and Kontagora (Hogben 1967, p.125). In 1914 the Northern and Southern Protectorate of Nigeria were united as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, with Lugard as the first Governor General. The capital of Northern Nigeria moved from Zungeru to Kaduna in 1916.

The imposition of colonialism saw the British becoming the dominant political power in Hausa land, resulting in a significant impact and transformation of the cultural life of the whole caliphate in general and Zaria in Particular. The Hausa-Fulani cities were integrated into the colonial Administrative framework. The Sokoto caliphate, as a political union, was dissolved and in its place a system of indirect rule was introduced whereby the emirs of the city states were left in place as ruler but became answerable to the colonial administration through a resident representative. Zaria became a centre of provincial administration.

4.2.3.2 British Colonial Administration as New Overlords

As an immediate aftermath of the imposition of colonial rule, British administrators became the new overlord and took over the supervisory role that Sokoto exercised over the cities and city states of the caliphate. In overseeing the government in Zazzau and the other city states, the British adopted a system of indirect rule whereby local traditional institutions and customs were preserved and served as the basis of administration (DURP 1979, p.5). In their supervisory role, the British colonial administration claimed the power to remove emirs and to appoint them, sometimes in consultation with Sokoto. In 1903 the Zaria emir, Kwassau, was deposed by the British for slave dealing with Aliyu appointed in

his place (Temple 1922, p.573). Aliyu was subsequently deposed in 1920 (Hogben 1967, p.126). The Colonial administration also claimed the right to reorganize political administration of both the Zazzau emirate and its capital city Zaria. The British administration established the Zaria province in 1903, while at the same time exorcising the vassal states of Keffi, Nassarawa, Jema'a and Doma from Zazzau and placing them under a different provincial administration (Hogben 1967, p.125). Several cities were also subsequently removed. A treasury was instituted for the emirate in 1910 (Hogben 1967, p. 126). The Colonial government also intervened at various times to reorganize and improve the structures and capacity for local governance as in the 1938 political reorganization, which saw the city divided into six wards and two sectors – Gabas and Yamma, each under a supervisor answerable to a representative of the Emir (*Wakili*). Each ward also had a representative council responsible for putting up proposals for the improvement of the ward (ZARPROF 3138, p.3). From the 1950s, the colonial administration also pushed for the drafting of younger more educated persons into local government and the various other consultative councils that were established to improve the state of administration (Hogben 1967, p. 126).

The British colonial establishment in administering the colonial process affirmed the role of Emirs as 'Sole Native Authority', and reaffirmed the Fulani as the ruling class of the cities of the Sokoto Caliphate. Kirke-Greene (1962, p.17) notes that "Lugard had very soon after his arrival affirmed his faith in the Fulani as the right people to rule the emirates. 'I believe', he wrote in 1902, 'that the future of the virile races of this protectorate lies largely in the regeneration of the Fulani. Their ceremonial, their coloured skins, their mode of life and habits of thought, appeal more to the native population than the prosaic business-like habits of the Anglo-Saxon can ever do.' Schools were established for the training of the son's of the Fulani chiefs to prepare them for leadership positions in the society. On the Schools, "Lugard envisaged a boarding school where royal scions 'would receive a primary education and be brought up in traditions of loyalty and integrity so that the next generation of native rulers may be enlightened and loyal, without necessarily foregoing their own religion or imbibing ideas of European dress and habits unsuited to their environment, which would cause them to lose influence and caste among their Mohammedan subjects'" (Kirk-Greene 1962, p.17). Action to improve education ultimately went beyond the chief's sons, however, as it expanded and accommodated non royal scions. This ultimately led to

an increase in the population of western educated persons who were employed in the Native Authority throughout the colonial period⁵².

An immediate action taken by the Colonial Administration upon conquering all the states of the Sokoto Caliphate was the abolition of slavery and slave trade. Lugard on his first day as a commissioner of the new protectorate of Northern Nigeria, on January 1, 1900, issued a proclamation of his intentions to fight slavery (Lovejoy & Hogendorn 1993, p.20). The process of abolition was gradual and started with the prohibition of slave trading and payment of tributes in slave in 1903 and the abolition of slave raiding in 1920. The gradualism sought to ease the process of abolition and minimize its economic impact. Despite the effort, there was massive movement of people as populations of slaves ran away to go back to their places of origin or establish new settlements (Lovejoy & Hogendorn, 1993, p. 44-60). Deposition was used as a tool to discipline errant Emirs who flouted colonial ordinances banning slave trading and raiding and the practice of sending slaves as tributes. Slavery was ultimately completely banned in 1936, with the enactment of the Slavery (Amendment) Ordinance No 19, which declared that "all persons heretofore or heretofore born in or brought within the Northern provinces are hereby declared to be free persons" (Lovejoy & Hogendorn 1993, p. 280-1)

4.2.3.3 Introduction of Municipal Governance and Management

Throughout the colonial period the British initiated programs of urban development with significant implications for Zaria city. The first municipal agency was established in 1910 as the "beit-el-Mal" (Treasury) and a native treasurer appointed for the distribution of all official salaries (Arnett 1922, p.21). This was gradually transformed into a municipal agency responsible for providing different types of services. New departments were added with time, including the Agriculture and Forestry, Education, and Works Departments. As part of the development activities of the Native Authority, the Market, prison and Alkali courts were built in 1903. A school was opened in Zaria city in 1914 with an initial intake of seventy-six pupils (Temple 1922, p.571). Various programs of physical developments were undertaken throughout the period of the colonial administration. The colonial government prohibited the maintenance of the defensive city walls (Urquhart, 1977). Road construction was undertaken to provide vehicular access and link centres in the city with prominent gates (TPO 1946, p. 4).

The colonial administration also introduced a policy of segregated spatial development as a means of protecting the integrity of the traditional city and shielding it from the influence of strangers. A land proclamation was made in 1901, which made "the acquisition of land by a non-native from a native illegal without the consent in writing of the Higher Commissioner" (Orr 1965, p.245). All new townships were therefore developed away from the traditional city. The program of spatial development saw Zaria developing as a metropolitan area during the colonial period, with the traditional city as its nucleus and various other units, which derived their character and form from their occupants (Urquhart 1977, p.2). Four prominent urban units emerged outside of the traditional city as shown in Figure 4-5. Sabon Gari was planned and laid out, following the arrival of the railway in Zaria in 1911, in medium sized plots designed to contain rental accommodation for wage employees and merchants of southern origin. Tudun Wada was laid in a grid pattern of motor streets as a settlement for strangers who are northern Nigerian non-native of Zaria (DURP 1979, p.7). The Government Reservation Area (GRA) to the north was reserved exclusively for British administrators. It was laid out in large lots with handsome houses in spacious gardens, and separated from the African population by a system of Green belt (DURP 1979, p.9). In 1924, an Agricultural Research Station was founded in Samaru and later metamorphosed into the school of Agriculture by 1945. The school became the nucleus for the development of Samaru as an informal settlement. By 1945, the urban districts that have remained as dominant centres in the development of Zaria had been established.

4.2.3.4 Trade and Contact in the Colonial Period

The Colonial period saw an expansion in opportunity for contacts, trade and economic activities at the metropolitan scale. New roads were constructed to link the various parts of the city as well as link the city with other regional centres. A railway system was extended to the city in 1914, linking it with Kaduna and Lagos to the south, Kano to the north and Sokoto and Gusau to the south west. The new townships establishment by the colonial administration attracted people from all parts of the country, creating a heterogeneous metropolitan area. Different industries and trading establishments were attracted to the city. New markets sprang up in Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada and a commercial area became established very close to the railway station. In the Colonial period, metropolitan Zaria emerged as a center for the marketing and processing of agricultural products, including cotton, tobacco, cattle, groundnut etc, (DURP 1979, p.6; Hogben 1967, p.126). While on

the one hand the city was developing at the metropolitan level, the traditional city on the other hand became more isolated. New people were no more settling in the city. Only some few traders in the traditional city were able to participate in the new economic opportunities available at the metropolitan level. The colonial policy of isolation and preservation of traditional institutions limited contact and so isolated the city. The economy of the traditional city did not, therefore, witness any significant changes during the colonial period. The city, however, witnessed an improved linkage with the metropolitan area from a transportation perspective.

4.2.3.5 The Role of Religion in the Colonial Period

Religion still occupied a dominant place in the administration of Zaria throughout the colonial period. The expressed policy of the colonial administration to protect the traditional institutions of the city state was interpreted to mean that no person of any other religion was allowed to become established within the traditional city. The Islamic tradition of the city was thus shielded and traditional native administration continued based on the precepts of the Islamic religion. Within the city the focus on education also continued to be on Islamic education, though western education was introduced with its level remaining low throughout the colonial period.

4.2.3.5 Fight for Independence and Promotion of a Regime of Gradual change

Nigeria after the post-second world war period witnessed an increasing agitation for democratic change and independence, which started from the southern part of the country and gradually filtered to the northern part. The agitations led to constitutional conferences and to concerns by western educated politicians in the northern part of Nigeria that independence would result in the dominance of the south over the North. The concern led to an agitation for internal change in the north, with calls for the democratization of the administrative process, including native administration. The British adopted a policy of gradual change, with the aim of retaining the system of traditional administration, but modernizing it and improving its effectiveness. The agitations for independence led to the establishment of a Central Legislative Council for Nigeria and a House of Assembly for the Northern region in 1947. Nigeria was granted self government in 1953 and independence on October 1, 1960.

4.2.4 Historical and Cultural Setting in the Post-Colonial Period (1960–2004)

4.2.4.1 Independence and Post-Colonial Governance

Nigeria at independence inherited a decentralized political structure consisting of three regions structured along ethnic cum religious lines, sharing power with a weak central government. The northern region, with its headquarters in Kaduna, some seventy five kilometres from Zaria, was predominantly Hausa-Fulani and Muslim; the south east had a dominant Ibo majority and was principally Christian; and the Southwest that was dominantly Yoruba and had a mixed Muslim and Christian population (Nolte 2002). Apart from the dominant ethnic groups, the country at independence had a population of about 60 million people fractured into more than 250 ethnic groups. Independence and the political structures that came with it generated changes and events that shaped the setting of cultural life in almost every part of the country. The independence government was overthrown in a military coup in January 1966, and military rule imposed on the country. The military government was also subsequently overthrown in another military coup in July 1966, which resulted in a civil war that lasted from 1966 to 1970. Additional military coups took place in 1976, 1983, 1985 and 1993, resulting in the country being under military rule for a very long time. A brief break in military rule occurred between 1979 and 1983, when a new civilian government was elected under the banner of a presidential democracy.

Quick changes in government produced political instability and gradually led to a substantial reorganization of the polity. The regional structure inherited since independence was disbanded in 1966 and the country decentralized into twelve smaller states within a federal structure with power concentrated at the level of the federal government. Additional states were created in 1985 and 1994. The country currently operates a presidential type democratic system of government consisting of three hierarchical tiers of government. At the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy are the local governments, followed by the state governments with a state assembly and a governor, and at the highest level of the hierarchy is the federal government made up of a senate and house of representative and also the president of the federation.

4.2.4.2 Petroleum, the National Economy and Development

One of the most significant national developments following independence was the expansion in oil production and the emergence of Nigeria as a major oil producing country.

Commercial production of oil started in Nigeria in 1957, and had reached 418 thousand barrels per day by 1966. Production jumped to more than 2.256 million barrels with the dramatic jump in the price of oil following the 1973 crisis. The substantial increase in oil production and its rising price ensured a rapid expansion of public sector income, with oil rising to account for four-fifth of the receipt of the federal government. Improved income and financial resources ultimately led to a philosophy of expanded service provision to the citizenry. National development plans were formulated starting with the first in 1962 for the “generation of mass welfare” (Kirk-Greene & Douglas 1981, p.141). Subsequent plans were prepared in 1970, 1975 and 1980. The plans resulted in massive infrastructure investments and improvements in education, housing, healthcare, communication, electricity, water, and transport. The country witnessed a substantial increase in per capita income of the population during the period, even though the rates of inflation also increased.⁵³ Despite the increase in public income, however, the supply of services and infrastructure lagged behind demand and productive activities, except in the case of education (Kirk-Greene & Douglas 1981, p.118). The supply of education exceeded demand as a result of the implementation of a national program of free universal primary education, initially introduced in the northern part of the country and later extended to the whole country.

Public expenditure increased faster than the increase in income from oil during the period between the 1970s and 1980s. Following a drop in oil prices in the 1980s, the country experienced a serious fiscal problem that forced it to borrow from external sources. By 1983, oil income had declined from the highs of 25 billion US dollars in 1980 to less than 10 billion US dollars and the country’s debt service ratio had also climbed from under 5% in 1980 to nearly 35% by 1984. Domestic inflation was running at 23.2% (Biersteker & Lewis cited in Damian et al. 1997, p.303). By 1986, the country was forced to start the implementation of a structural adjustment program, which resulted in the liberalization of the economy and the rapid devaluation of the national currency.

The current trend of globalization which started in the 1980s is also manifesting locally in Nigeria and having its impact on different aspects of social life and economy. Globalization has facilitated new forms of consumption as global goods become available locally. The process, in combination with the recent expansion of national income from petroleum, has seen an expansion of imports and the availability of a large variety of goods at very

affordable prices. This has also substantially impacted local production. The poor services situation of the country, especially the problems of power supply, coupled with cheap imports have contributed in eroding the industrial base of most Nigerian cities. As a result, there has been a massive increase in unemployment and poverty in many cities, including Zaria. Cultural consumption is also happening as part of the globalization process. Globalization and liberalization has resulted in the introduction of different systems of communication, include satellite television and telephony. This has improved local contact with other cultures and to cultural consumption manifested in the adoption of new artefacts and practices such as dressing, housing, cars etc. It is also fundamentally challenging the conception of tradition and traditional identity.

4.2.4.3 National Competition and Social Conflicts

Political instability and conflicts have emerged as recurring national problems in the post-colonial period, resulting in riots and communal conflicts occurring principally in urban areas as a result of the increase in competition for power and influence and religious differences among the ethnic nationalities of the country. The political reforms introduced since independence have gradually led to an increasingly centralized federal structure and increase in the power of the Nigerian federal government (Nolte 2002, p.171-5). The reforms have resulted in the federal government having absolute control over fiscal and revenue raising power, as well as putting institutions such as the prisons and police under federal control. This has been done at the expense of the states and local governments which have lost significant power, authority and financial autonomy (Kirk-Greene & Douglas 1981, p.128). The situation led to a concentration of national resources at the federal level and the evolution of the federal government as the sole allocating and distributive authority in the structure of governance. This development has been closely associated with an increase in corruption and the rise of a competition for resources and power among the constituent nationalities of the country (Ado-Kurawa; 2002; Nolte 2002, p.171). Horizontal and vertical inequality in the distribution of resources in the form of suppression of minority interest and the absences of institutionalized power sharing mechanism fuelled competition and ultimately, radicalized communal politics thereby generating all types of conflicts and clashes that have characterised the country since 1980 (Nolte 2002, p.189). Abdullahi (1986, p.19-20) has also suggested that a state of anomie leading to an increase in psychopathy is developing in the country from the growing gap between the rich and poor, conspicuous consumption by the rich sometimes in

disagreement with traditional cultural values, and a general conflict between western and traditional values.

Religion has recently evolved as one of the main cleavages that have given rise to national conflicts. The structuring of Nigeria along ethnic-cum-religious lines at independence saw the northern part of the country predominantly Muslim, the southern part predominantly Christian and the western part split between the Islamic and Christian religions. Though religion has played an underlying role in conflicts since independence, it has assumed a more prominent position since the 1980s. Quinn and Quinn (2003, p.50) have observed that "throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Muslim-Christian violence was responsible for many of Nigeria's more than 5000 casualties in communal conflicts." Religious conflicts occur either as inter-religious conflicts, usually between the Muslims and Christians, or as intra-religious sectarian conflicts. In either case, increasing religious conflicts appear to be closely linked to radical changes that have occurred in the understanding of religion and the perception of its role in society. On the Christian side, Nigeria has witnessed an expansion of pentecostal churches with an active evangelical posture at the expense of more traditional Christian sects. The active operation of some of these churches in the predominantly Muslim north has sometimes created the fractures that have resulted in conflicts resulting from the clash of values and the competition for power and influence.

The Nigerian Muslims have also witnessed a fundamental shift in religious philosophy and ideology during the post-colonial period. The shift has seen the rejection of traditional Sufi orders, particularly the Tijjaniya and Qadiriyya sects, which have dominated practice in the country in favour of Salafist movements that emphasize legal positivism focused on compliance with religious rules of belief and conduct (Umar, 2001, p. 136). An organization that spearheaded the shift and epitomized it was the *Jama'at Izalatil Bidia wa Iqamatus Sunnah* (Movement Against Negative Innovations and for Orthodoxy). The organization formed in the 1970s, defined itself by rejecting the traditional authority of traditional *Ulama*, and opposition to the power of Sufi Shaykhs and superstitious beliefs of popular Islam. The change occasioned by the organization has gradually led to a shift in the role of the Islamic religion in Nigeria "from being the religion of a segment of society determined to preserve its status to one advocating fundamental societal change" (Quinn & Quinn, 2003, p. 39). It has also enabled the Nigerian Muslim *Ulama* to engage in modern global discourse on topical issues with local importance such as the secularity of Nigeria,

state of gender equality, human rights, democracy and rights of ethnic and minority groups (Umar 2001, p. 132). Manifestations of the impact of the shift in ideology are visible from the general population in the form of increased Islamic consciousness, improved education and a demand for more fundamentalist practice and connections. It has also contributed in generating some of the fractures that have resulted in communal conflicts. The rejection of the traditional *Ulama* and competition within the IZALA group itself has led to intra-religious sectarian conflicts that have occurred in many parts of northern Nigeria. The demand for more fundamentalist practices and particularly the call for the imposition of Shariah as a system of law has evolved as a bone of contention with non-Muslims and is regarded as "the principal *causus belli* in the latest round of Muslim-Christian conflicts" (Quinn & Quinn 2003, p.38).

4.2.4.4 Zaria in the Post-Colonial Period

Developments at the national level along with local issues have combined to shape and frame cultural life in Zaria in the post-colonial period. A restructuring of local governance carried out nationally in 1976, saw the removal of traditional emirs from the head of native authorities and reduced their role to a symbolic one. Local governments have transformed in the process to governance agents responsible for basic local development. The pattern of trade, contact and economy in post colonial Zaria is continuously dictated by developments in the larger metropolitan area. Most industries and modern sources of employment, such as educational institutions, are located outside the traditional city. Zaria as a metropolis has evolved as an institutional town with many formal educational institutions including a university, an aviation school, a school of leather technology, a college of agriculture and a military training school, all located outside the traditional city. New markets that have developed outside the traditional city in the colonial period have also expanded and become strengthened during the post-colonial period. All these developments have resulted in the expansion of the scope for contact and trade at the metropolitan level.

While opportunities for contact proliferated at the metropolitan level, the traditional city was cut off and likened to "fish in a bowl" in reference to its seclusion both spatially and in terms of contact with new ideas. New means of production and exchange that developed at the metropolitan level diminished the importance of the craft industry in the traditional city and so most craft activities died out during the post-colonial period. The market in the traditional city also lost its centrality within the metropolitan context and evolved more as a

local commercial centre servicing the needs of only the residents of the traditional city. Opportunities for contact and trade declined generally within the traditional city. The expansion of new forms of employment and the subsequent decline in traditional craft in the city created a gap of employment. New services employment evolved such as carpentry, metal working and tailoring. Tailoring and the production of traditional garments became particularly popular and the city emerged as the premier location for traditional tailoring and embroidery work. Farming, however, remained a principal secondary occupation of Zaria people.

4.3 The Urban Space Setting of Zaria's Public Space

This section examines the broader physical and social context in which Zaria's public space is situated in the period 1804 to 2004 AD. The context is examined in terms of the metropolitan setting of the city, and the essential physical and social character of the urban space of the city.

4.3.1 The Physical Space of the City

4.3.1.1 The Metropolitan Context

Zaria evolved in the 19th century with a centre and periphery type regional organization. Zaria as a walled city was physically located in an open area, and was the capital of a larger Zazzau emirate, consisting of other towns and smaller satellite settlements who through their local chief, and along with other conquered people, express their allegiance to the emir. As a capital city, it was a centre of political power and the focus of social, religious and commercial activities. This spatial organization survived until the advent of colonialism when the setting of the capital's location was transformed following the creation of new settlement units outside the wall of the city. The physical development of Zaria during the colonial period was largely dictated by Lugard's policy of indirect rule, which emphasized "maintaining established traditions and non-interference with Muslim settlements" (Moughtin 1985, p.30-1). In furtherance of this policy, a program of segregated residential development was promoted in physical planning. In Zaria this program led to the establishment of a Government station in 1902 laid out in a garden city format in the area just after the Kubanni River. This later became the residential area for British colonial officials. The other settlements established include Tudun Wada, Sabon Gari, and Samaru (Figure 4-5). The British colonial administration also prohibited the

maintenance of the defensive walls of the traditional city. This gradually led to the depreciation of the wall and its breaching with time by development (Urquhart 1977).

The five urban districts; Zaria city, Tudun Wada, Government Reservation Area and Sabon Gari, that make up the Zaria metropolitan area from the colonial period still remain the principal centres of the city and define the contemporary metropolitan context of Zaria. The physical expansion of the urban districts is gradually blunting their separation and resulting in the formation of new neighbourhoods and sub-centres. It is also leading to the emergence of a unified urban fabric organized around the principal vehicular routes of the city. Growth is also blunting the distinctive spatial character that the districts had from the colonial period (Figure 4-5). Despite the trend towards the merging of the fabric of the urban units of Zaria metropolitan area, the observation by DURP (1979, p.23) that the city is not perceived as a single entity but as a collection of separate units appears from all observations to be as true today as when it was made. The districts are perceived by their residents more as distinct units than as integrated parts of a city.

The traditional city has had most of its growth within and around the vicinity of the city wall. The city has the most cohesive image, being closely associated with religiosity, Islam, indigeneous people, and Hausa identity. Tudun Wada located to the north of the traditional city has expanded to the city gates in the south direction and to the Kubanni River to the north. Expansion is now taking place mostly to the south-east, where the River Galma serves as a barrier and to the northwest where it has merged with Tukur-Tukur, and expanded to Kasuwan Magajiya on the Kano-Kaduna highway. The district is now less known for its Hausa migrant population and more for the educational institutions situated within it, including the Collage of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, the Federal College of Education Zaria, Kaduna State Polytechnic, Barewa College, and Government Girls Teachers College. The dominant perception of the district is as a place with low level of social life and entertainment, uniform street pattern, and of business-minded people. Sabon Gari, located to the north-east of Tudun Wada and the walled city has witnessed tremendous expansion. The district now occupies a central position in the urban hierarchy. The district has expanded to incorporate the railway station and commercial area to the south, and has almost reached river Galma to the east. It has also expanded to incorporate the industrial area located towards Samaru road opposite the GRA. The image of Sabon Gari is more of a commercial centre of the city. While people of southern origin still make

up a substantial population of the district, it now less seen as a settlement of non-Hausa Nigerians of southern origin. The image of the district is of an active social life, presence of social amenities, better types of buildings, and educated value.

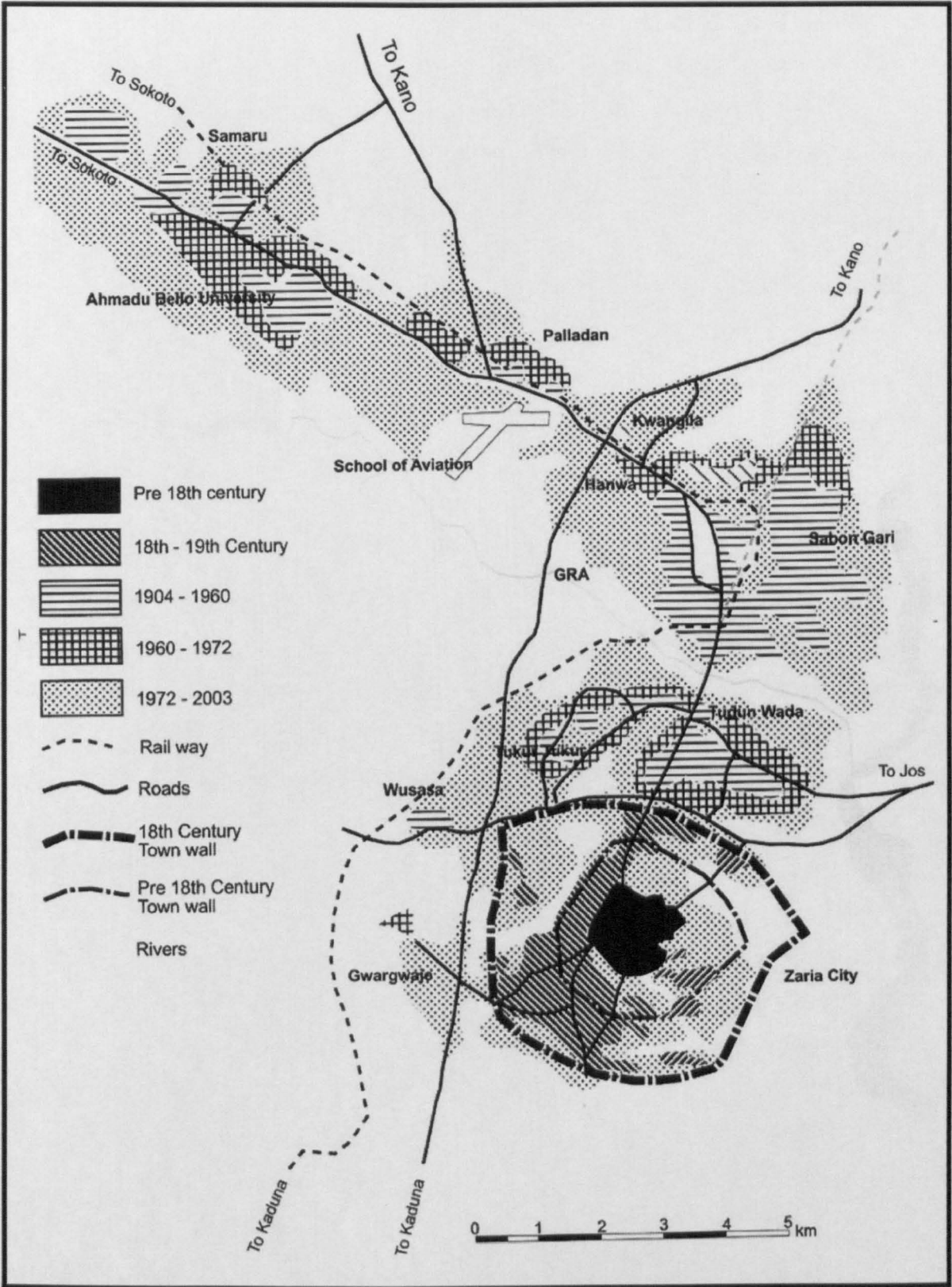


Figure 4-5: The growth of Zaria's urban units

The distinctively located Government Reservation Area (GRA) to the north has retained much of its internal distinctiveness, though the wide open areas that separated it from the other districts have become developed. A new district known as Hanwa GRA extension now connects the GRA with a linear development that stretches along the Sokoto road to Samaru. The GRA is now associated with upper class or high income Nigerians rather than as a residence of administrative staff. A small number of Europeans are still found in the area. Samaru still retains its character as a university town with the Ahmadu Bello University as the dominant institution in the district. The district has however expanded in directions constrained by the Sokoto Road and the University. To the south-east, it has expanded in a linear fashion to meet with the Hanwa GRA extension, in the process spawning the new neighbourhoods of Palladan, Anguwan Zomo and Kwangila. To the north, it has expanded to Basawa on the old Kano road. Samaru's image is associated with workers, active social life, and regular pattern of streets, schools, and students (DURP 1979, p.22).

4.3.1.2 The Boundary of Zaria's Urban Space

Zaria's wall, which defines the extent of the traditional city, encloses an area of about 1658 hectares. The length of the city is four kilometres in the north-south direction and five kilometres in length in the east-west direction (Ebuga 19884, p.43). The wall defined the city limits throughout the Jihad period. It was penetrated by eight gates that served as principal entry ways. During the colonial period, there was a gradual degradation of the walls due to lack of repairs. The wall, however, continued to define the city both physically and symbolically, and essentially confined its development. Access to the city continued to be through the eight established gates. The wall was breached by physical development during the post-colonial period. In some directions, the breach established contiguity of development with the wider metropolitan area. The breach is currently occurring mainly around six gates; *Kofar Gayan*, *Kuyambana*, *Doka*, *Kibo*, and *Jatau*. Contiguity with the broader metropolitan area has occurred around the *Doka*, and *Kibo* gates, all located on the northern side of the city wall. While the gates continue to serve as the main access route to the city, many new tracks and pathways are now providing additional connection with areas outside the traditional city.

4.3.1.3 The Built-up area of the Zaria

Examination of the expansion of Zaria's built area points to a pattern that has varied with time but ultimately resulting in substantial growth. The lack of physical maps from the nineteenth century makes it difficult to have an objective knowledge of the form and extent of the built fabric of Zaria of the period. Accounts by explorers and visitors, such as Clapperton (1828) and Staudinger (1889), suggest that the city had a very low density, with most development concentrated towards the centre around the market and to some extent around the palace. This suggestion is consistent with descriptions provided by Mama (1966, p.38) which indicates that the built area is concentrated around the loop with the market and palace as centres. There was no development around the northern periphery of the walls, including around Kofar Jatua, Tukur-Tukur, Doka, Bai, Galadima and Kona. Areas around these gates were essentially farmland. The current city has 78.6% of its urban space or 1293 hectares of the 1658 hectares defined by the wall as built up area (Figure 4-6). Based on previous work and estimates of built area provided by Schwerdtfeger (1982) and Ebuga (1984 p.239), and in combination with recently acquired imagery, it has been possible to establish the historical growth pattern of the city to 2003 shown in Figure 4-7. Growth is generally divided into three periods based on the availability of information.

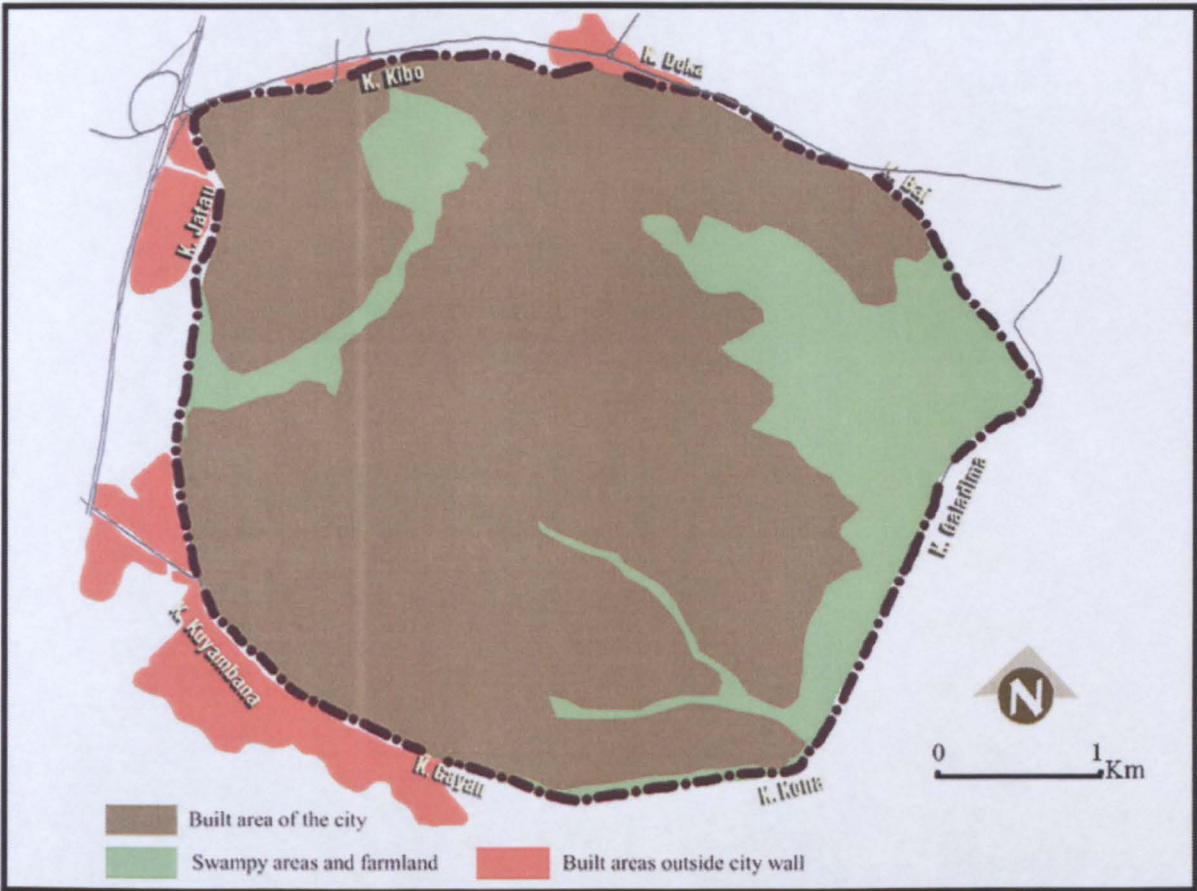


Figure 4-6: Current extent of development in Zaria

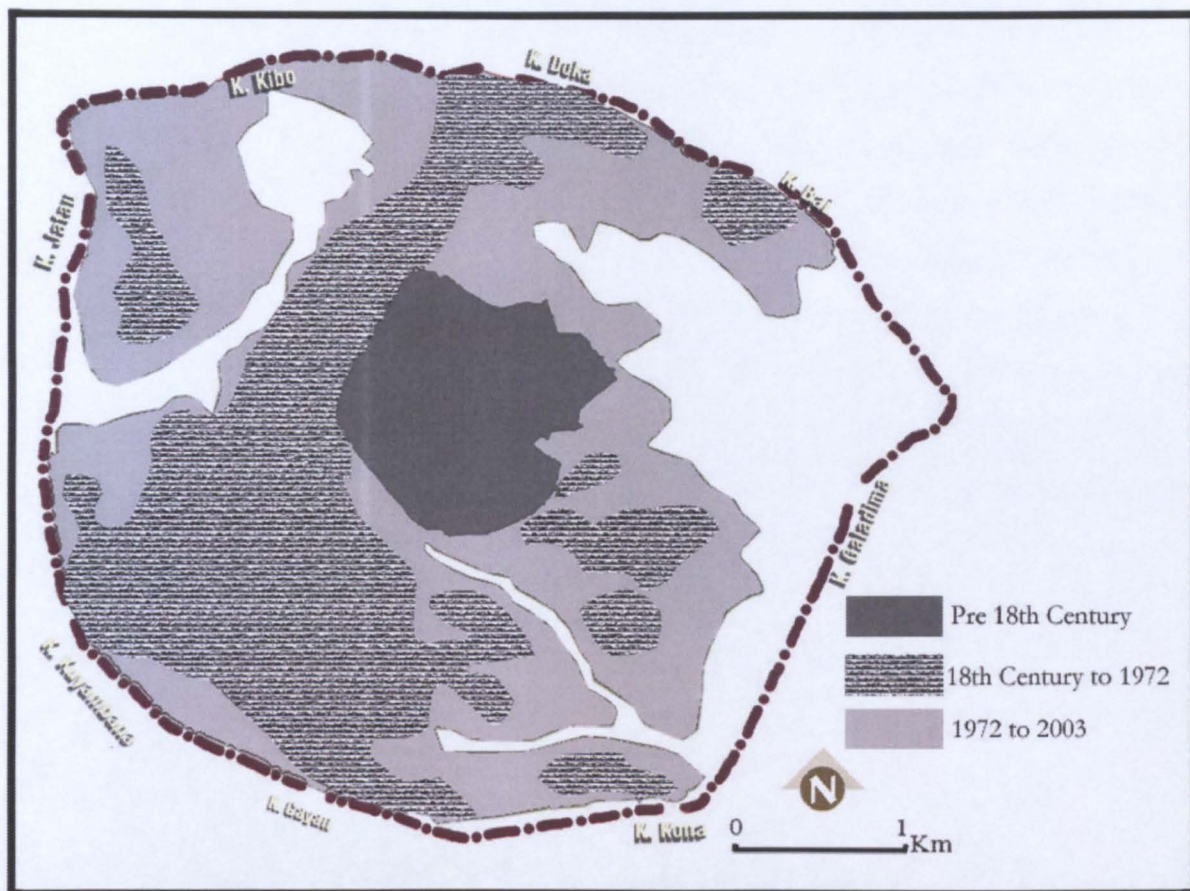


Figure 4-7: Historical pattern of the growth of Zaria's built space

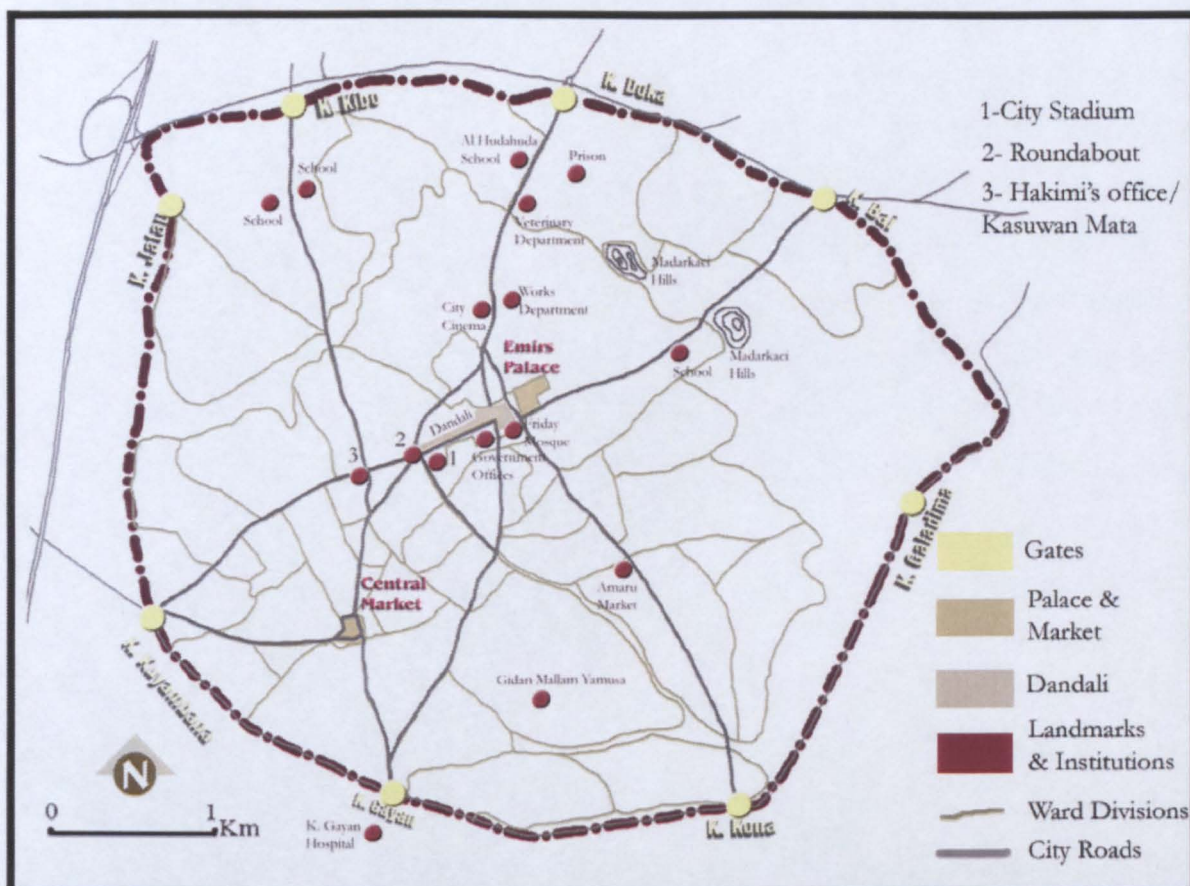


Figure 4-8: Social institutions in Zaria's urban space

Zaria prior to the 18th century was contained within a narrower wall, the Madarkaci wall. The city had a total built space of about 143.4 Hectares. The current wall was built in the 18th century and by the 19th century Zaria had expanded within the current wall to cover an area of about 609 hectares or 37% of its enclosed area. This built extent remained unchanged throughout the 19th century and for most of the 20th century. Expansion only started around 1972, and by 2003, the city had expanded to its current area of about 1293 hectares, pointing to the tremendous expansion of the built fabric. The limited open lands left in the city are located in the south-eastern, north-eastern and north-western quadrants of the city as shown in Figure 4-6. There is no defined pattern of functional zoning within the built fabric of the city. The bulk of the development in the city is concentrated along an axis which starts from the Kusfa quarter to Kofar Doka. There is a decrease in the concentration of development and presumably of people, as one moves farther away from this axis. Figure 4-8 shows the principal land marks and social institutions in the urban space of the traditional city.

4.3.1.4 The Organization and Administration of Urban Space

Zaria has evolved with its fabric hierarchically organized spatially in two ways for administrative purposes. At the lower level, there is the division of the fabric into wards, and at the higher level, is the grouping of wards into districts.⁵⁴ The city currently has forty two wards (Figure 4-9) and five districts (Figure 4-10). The districts also function as electoral wards in the elections of political representatives from the city. The spatial organization of the fabric mirrors the organization of traditional structures for its management. The traditional structures consist of the Zazzau Emirate council with the emir at its head. Under the Emir are a series of territorial officials who oversee the administration of spatial units of the emirate called *Hakimai*. In the particular case of Zaria, there is a territorial official in charge of its administration called the *Hakimim Ciki da waje* (Traditional official in charge of the City and its environ). He is assisted in his administration by district heads (*wakilai*) in charge of the districts and ward heads (*Masu Anguwa*) in charge of the administration of the wards of the city. The function of the traditional administrative system is currently neither coded nor defined. It more or less borrows authority from history and its symbolic association with tradition. The day to day municipal administration of the traditional city is undertaken by the Zaria local government. The local government is responsible for development of facilities such as roads, primary schools and for such services as refuse collection and

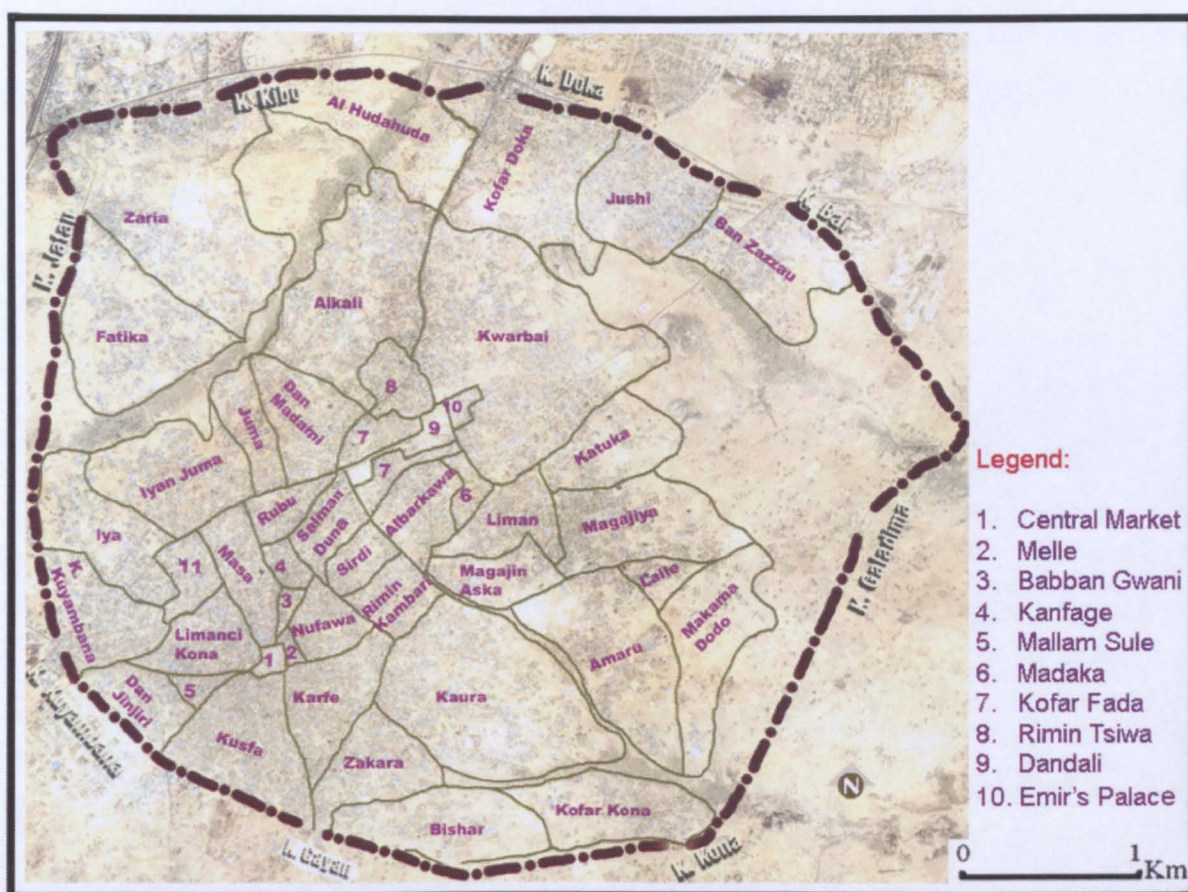


Figure 4-9: Current ward divisions in the traditional city

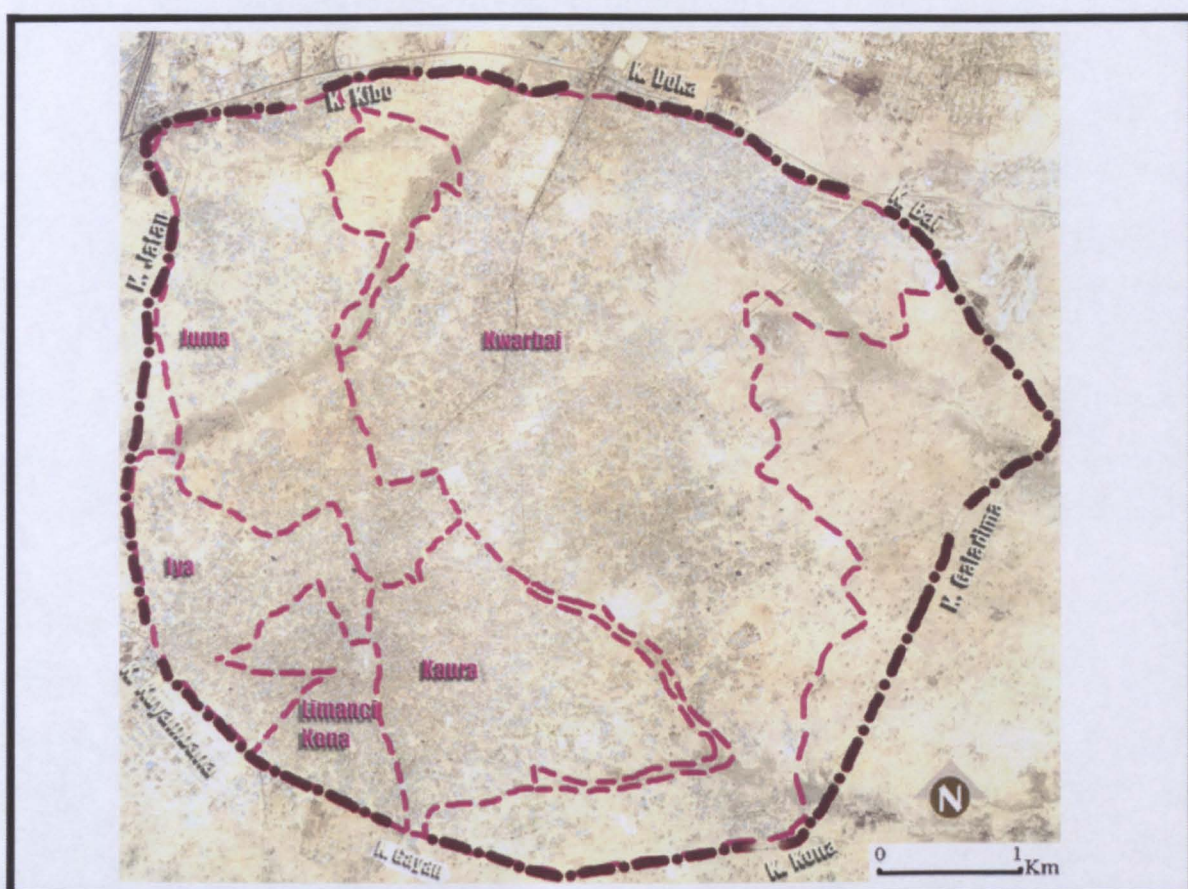


Figure 4-10: Current district divisions in the traditional city

maintenance of utilities. Utilities such as water and electricity and telephone are provided by state agencies, public corporations or private companies. Urban development in the city is sometimes undertaken by the state and federal governments.

4.3.2 The Social Context

4.3.2.1 Population of the City

It is difficult to provide estimates of Zaria's population due to the lack of accurate and reliable data sources.⁵⁵ Available information does suggest that Zaria witnessed substantial population increase in the Jihad period and decline in the colonial period. Since 1970, population growth appeared to have assumed a rapid pace that has resulted in the size of the city growing beyond figures that have been advanced for its population in the past. Clapperton (1828, p.159) estimated the population of the city around 1828 at about 40,000 or 50,000.⁵⁶ Staudinger (1889, p.177), while acknowledging the difficulty of estimating the population of Zaria, gave a peak figure of about 80,000 to 100,000 people, but estimated the population during his visit at about half of that. Robinson (1900) estimated the population of Zaria in 1893 at around 30,000. The colonial periods led to the decline, stabilization and thereafter slow growth of Zaria's population. Arnette (1922) estimated the population of the traditional city in 1918 at 13,000, suggesting a drastic population decline from Jihad period estimates. The 1953 and 1963 censuses estimated the population of Zaria at 32,560 and 34,870 people respectively, suggesting that the population had stabilized. This stability in population continued up to 1974, when the population of Zaria city was estimated at 52,800. A census in 1999 by the traditional administration authorities estimates the population of the city at 166,008. This showed an expansion of more than 200% in a period of about 25 years indicating a period of rapid population growth. If this trend is assumed to continue and growth is project at between 3 and 6 percent, then the current population of the city is estimated at between 192,520 and 222,290. Current expansion is largely a product of natural increase rather than immigration.

The city's population is spatially distributed across the various wards of the city. It is difficult to analyze and discern the current social geography of the wards because of the lack of adequate data. It, however, appears that some element of historical character and identity associated with wards has been retained and is being perpetuated. The new developing character and social geography of the wards is therefore the result of the morphing of traditional character and identity resulting from changes that are currently

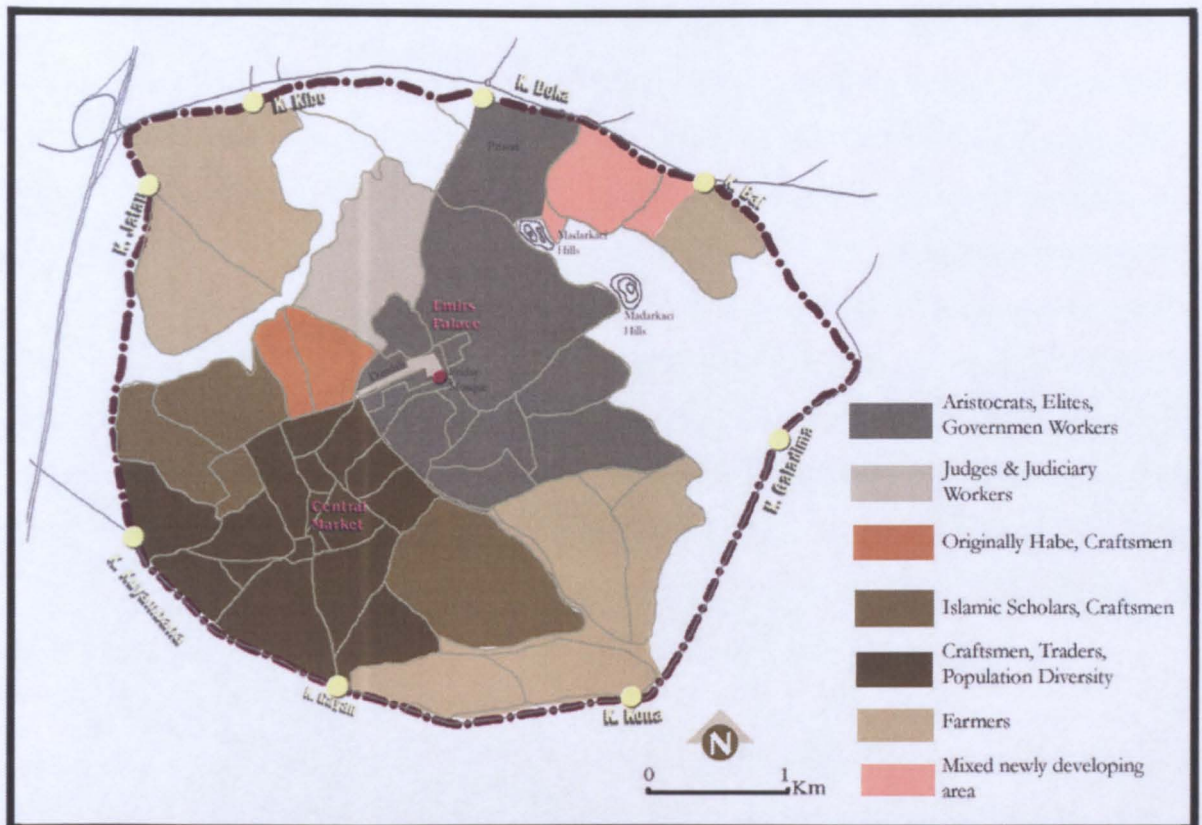


Figure 4-11: Social geography of Zaria city

being introduced. Figure 4-11 shows the evolving social geography of the wards of the city based on analysis of available information and discussion with residents of the city.

4.3.2.2 Social Structures of the Population

Zaria city has witnessed significant changes in the character of the social elements who inhabit the city and in the various structural ways in which the social elements are organized. Social structure in Zaria in the Jihad period did not evolve with a rigid caste-like differentiation that precluded social movement (Smith 1982, p82). Familial affiliation was the most predominant means of social organization. The predominant differentiators in the social structure of the city during the jihad period were wealth and political power. The two were, as earlier mentioned, mutually reinforcing. The system of stratification that evolved permitted both upward and downward social mobility, although opportunities for movement were greater for the Fulani than the Habe (Smith 1960, p.82). Different types of differentiations also prevailed within the fabric of the population (Smith 1960, p. 80-82). There was gender division which had a spatial implication. The population was also divided into freemen and slaves. Slaves occupied the lowest ladder in the city and were further differentiated into captives or born into slavery. The population was also divided into Muslims and non-Muslims. The free Muslim population was further differentiated

between the Habe and the Fulani. The Fulani as conquerors hold a superior position to the Habe. They were also internally differentiated into the settled, who occupy a higher position, and the nomadic, who occupy a lower position. The settled Fulani were further differentiated by aristocratic status. The four ruling dynasties hold a superior position, with the ruling emir holding the most superior position. The Habe also observe an internal class system emphasising hereditary occupation in the male line. Within the occupations, some, such as butchers, hunters, tanners and blacksmiths, occupy the lowest ranking. Paralleling these internal differentiations is another scale which is based on prestige or social rank (*Daraja*) (Kirk-Green 1962, p.9). Within this scale, title holders, Koranic scholars, teachers, and rich merchants occupy the highest scale of the social structure. At the lowest end of the structure is found praise singers, drummers, mat weavers, menial hangers-on, barbers and butchers. In between the two is found the bulk of the population.

Jihad social structure continued for most of the colonial period and started changing only towards the end of period. One form of change was the gradual disappearance of the slave class, as a result of the abolition of slavery. Another change was the rise of an educated class who formed the core of new political elite that was engaged in the process of self rule. By the post-colonial period, the system of societal differentiation and structure has evolved to be internally differentiated according to holding of traditional office, position in employment and wealth status. Currently, the family remains the most prominent unit of social organization in the city. The people of the city identify themselves with particular families. Other than familial differentiation, social differentiation in the city is built round age, gender, traditional title holding, income or wealth, occupation and education.⁵⁷ Age serves as a fundamental means of classifying people in the traditional society of the walled city. Four distinct age groups were identified as being the most prevalent. At the lower level are young children (*yara*). These are followed by teens (*Matasa* in the case of boys, *Yan Mata* in the case of girls). At the top of the age hierarchy are adults (*manya*) and the old (*Dattijai*). The particular ages that mark the categories are not clearly established, but children would be between 2 to around 13, teens from 13 to around 18, adults from around 18 to 50 and the old from around 50 upward. Gender and wealth also factor in strongly as differentiating elements.

4.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter examined the cultural, historical and urban space setting of Zaria's public space. Examination of the broader Hausa cultural setting showed that Zaria is situated within a unique cultural environment with established political, social, economic and symbolic traditions, as well as spatial practices that includes the public-private territorial organization of urban space.

Examination of the historical and cultural setting of Zaria indicates that the city has witnessed substantial transformation over the course of its history. This transformation is evident in the cultural structures - political, social, economic and symbolic, as well as in its urban space. Change and transformation has been shaped in each period of history by political events, with subsequent impact on all other aspects of cultural life. The forces which unleash local political change in Zaria can, in almost all instances, can also be linked to broader forces operating at either the regional or global level. Change has seen Zaria transform from a vassal state of Sokoto, and central position as the capital of an emirate and centre of traditional administration to a district within a larger metropolitan area, governed through new political institutions and structures. The city has witnessed significant population and built fabric expansion, with both population and built fabric now integrated with the metropolitan area as a result of improved activity and movement linkages. In the process the city has retained a sense of distinct spatial identity, facilitated by its city walls, even in its degraded form.

In examining the cultural, historical and urban space setting of public space, the chapter prepares the stage for the examination and presentation of changes in the physical, social and symbolic dimensions of public space in the three subsequent chapters respectively. The chapter also lays the stage for the conceptualization of the process of cultural transformation and for developing theories to explain changes observed in public space in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5: THE MATERIAL FABRIC OF PUBLIC SPACE

“Public space is the stage upon which the drama of community life unfolds. The street, squares, and parks of a city give form to the ebb and flow of human exchange.” (Carr et al 1992).

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines change in Zaria's public space from a physical perspective. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines types of public spaces in the current city and the evolution of the public spaces over time. The second section examines the morphological organization of public space in terms of the types of prevailing space patterns, structure and organization, and nature of public space enclosure. The last section examines the production and management of public places in terms of agents in the process, ownership and management, and the amenity value of public places.

5.1 Types of Public Places

The examination of types of public spaces in this section is divided into two parts. The first part examines the classification of public space types, their organization and function based on patterns in the contemporary city. The second part examines the evolution of the public space types over time to their present form.

5.1.1 Classification of Public Spaces

In line with practices observed from the review of literature, the types of public spaces in contemporary Zaria can be classified into two based on accessibility and enclosure considerations; free access and quasi-public spaces.⁵⁸ The constituent spaces of Zaria's public space are examined along this divide.

5.1.1.1 Free Access Public Spaces

There are six types of free access public spaces embedded within contemporary Zaria's public space; the Dandali, Road spaces, Neighbourhood open spaces, Production and Services spaces, Gates, and Natural Spaces.

5.1.1.1.1 The Dandali

The Dandali is the most prominent public space in Zaria city. It is located on an axis that starts from the Babban Dodo roundabout, where it is narrow and ends at the Emir’s palace where it opens up into a wide space as shown in Figure 5-1. The Emir’s palace, with its

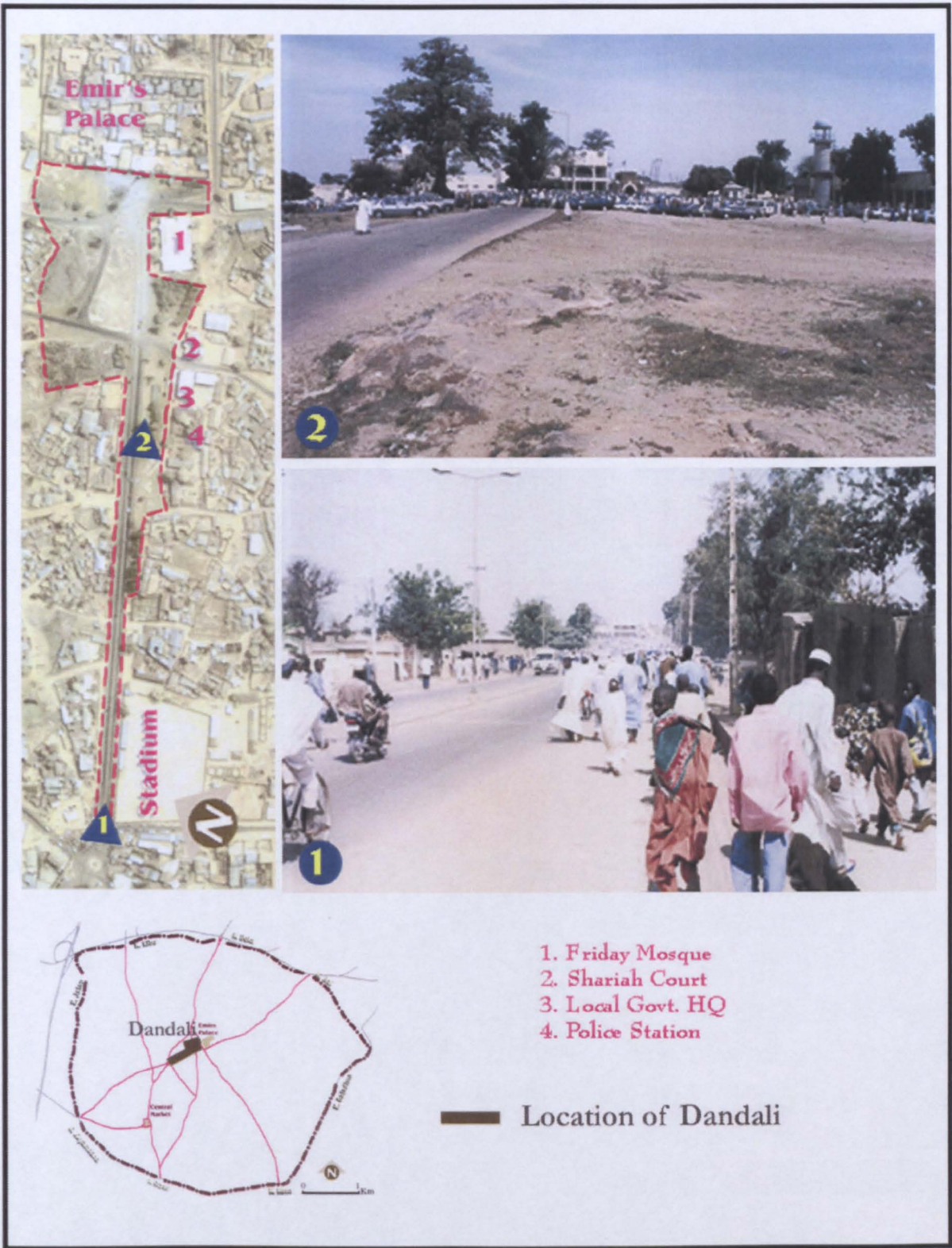


Figure 5-1: The Dandali in Zaria

large decorated concrete entrance wall and reception buildings, serves as the focal point of the space. It is a loosely defined space, bounded on the right by prominent institutional and cultural buildings, including the stadium, the headquarters' of the Judiciary, the police headquarters, the Zaria local Government secretariat, and the Friday mosque of the city (Figure 5-1), and on the left by a loose collection of houses. The space is informally organized with the bounding buildings providing a loose rather than a rigid edge definition. The enclosing buildings are one to two stories high and of varying construction materials. The principal function of the space is as a place for cultural activities. The activities include the Muslim Eid festivities, ceremonies for the conferment of traditional titles, the weekly Friday prayer, political receptions and other ceremonial parades. When it is not being used for any of these activities, the space is reduced to a place for commerce, social interaction and entertainment.

5.1.1.1.2 Road or Movement Spaces

Roads or movement spaces are the most pervasive of public spaces in the traditional city. They are pervasive by virtue of their connective function; acting as the spine onto which many other public spaces and activities are anchored (Figure 5-2).⁵⁹ The contemporary movement system is hierarchically organized with city wide roads at the top, followed by district and neighbourhood roads. The city wide roads start from prominent gates of the city and cut astride across the fabric connecting the various gates with the important centres of palace and market. The city wide roads are usually paved and have the highest traffic volumes. The district roads crisscross the walled city connecting the residential wards of the city. As they criss-cross the city, they merge into smaller neighbourhood roads which distribute people to the residential neighbourhoods and houses. The intricate network formed by the district and neighbourhood roads makes it difficult to distinguish one from the other. In general, district roads are wider and in most cases support vehicular traffic. Neighbourhood roads may be vehicular, but are in many cases only pedestrian ways and are usually unpaved. Movement spaces are usually bounded and defined by houses and other built structures. The primary function of the road system is distribution. The roads distribute people, cars, carts, and animals to different activities and parts of the city. The road system also functions secondarily as a space for commerce and spill-over small scale industrial production and is closely integrated with almost all other city activities. Roads also serve as symbolic markers between the various wards and districts of the city.

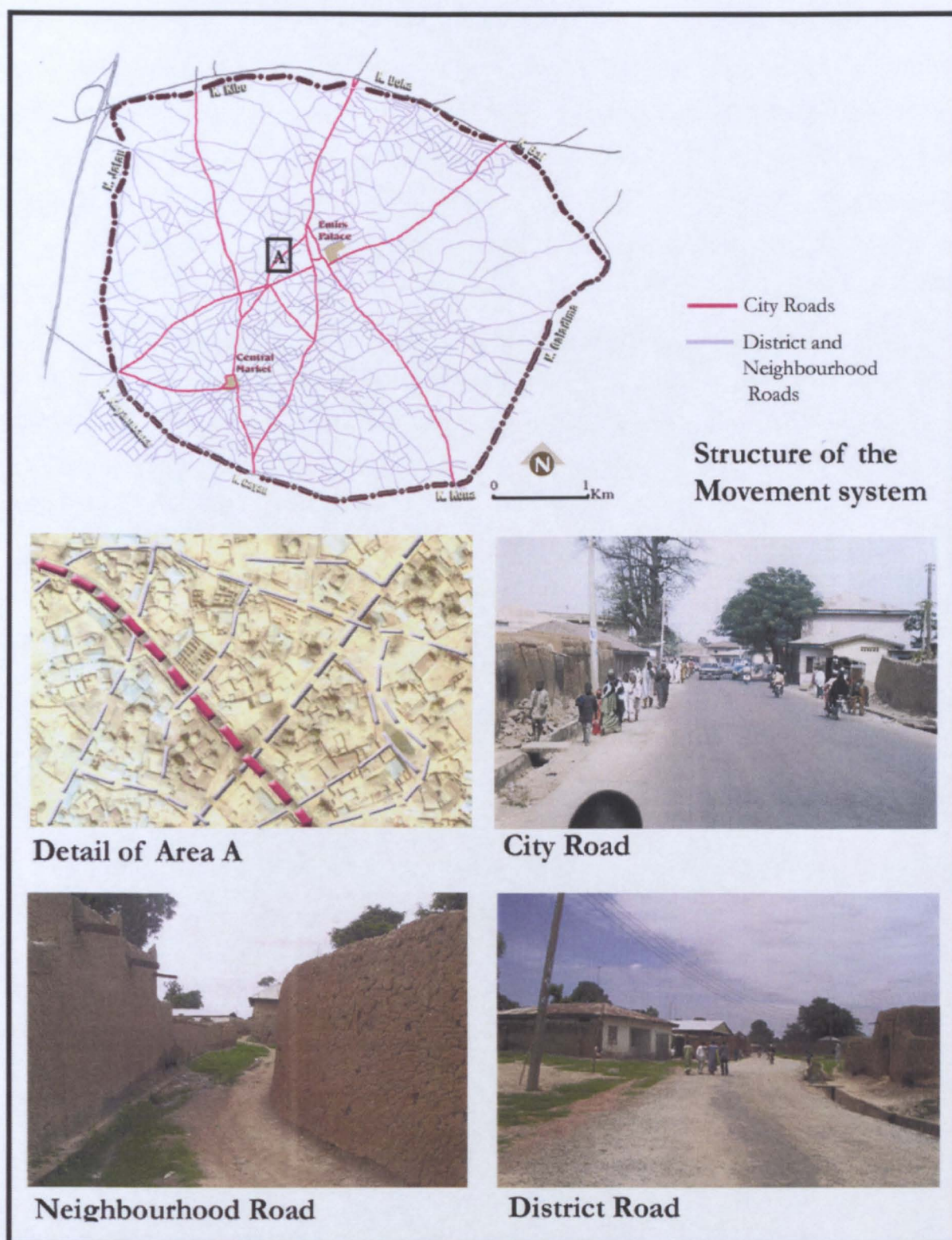


Figure 5-2: The movement system

5.1.1.1.3 Community Spaces

Community spaces in contemporary Zaria can broadly be classified into two types; residential Community spaces and neighbourhood play areas, as illustrated in Figure 5-3. The residential community spaces are distributed all over the residential wards of the city.⁶⁰ The residential spaces are usually formed by a group of houses defining a common loose

space at road intersections.⁶¹ The spaces are closely integrated with road spaces and have hierarchies mirroring those of road spaces.⁶² Houses fronting the spaces would usually have podiums where people sit. The spaces usually interface with the semi-private domain of the house (Figure 5-3). The spaces are usually complemented by a coterie of either facilities or services. The most common are mosque, found in 60 percent of the observed spaces, commerce in the form of shops, kiosk or on street hawking found in 50% of observed spaces, wells, boreholes or standpipes found in 25% of observed spots, and Islamic schools found in 3 spaces (15%). Almost all the spaces also had a canopy of trees which provided shade and a symbolic sense of centre. The residential spaces are usually named after the most prominent person having a house fronting the space, in some cases the ward head, or after some significant physical object or activity.⁶³ Residential community spaces function principally as a place for interaction and socialization, as well as additional space for public activities and ceremonies of the households surrounding the space. Such activities include naming ceremonies, marriages, death condolences, and in some case even as places for political gatherings.



Figure 5-3: Community open spaces

The neighbourhood play areas are open spaces within the built up fabric that serve as play location for children.⁶⁴ These spaces have a hierarchical organization with some functioning at the level of the ward and some serving a collection of wards or sections of the city. The most common use of the neighbourhood play areas is for football. Teams of different ages could be found in the spaces at the ward and district levels playing at different times of the day. The spaces are also used occasional for cultural activities.

5.1.1.1.4 Production and Service Spaces

Production and services spaces are spaces used for different types of production and service activities. The activities usually spill out to public space or are sometimes completely carried out in public space hence their classification. Production and service spaces are usually nested within other public spaces such as roads (Figure 5-4), markets, and residential community spaces (Figure 5-5). Forty four percent of the spaces observed during the field work had production or location fixed services. Activities are usually of a craft nature, involving small scale carpentry and wood work, metal fabrication, pottery, and tailoring and embroidery.⁶⁵ Additionally, such spaces serve as interaction and socialization centres attracting a diversity of people.

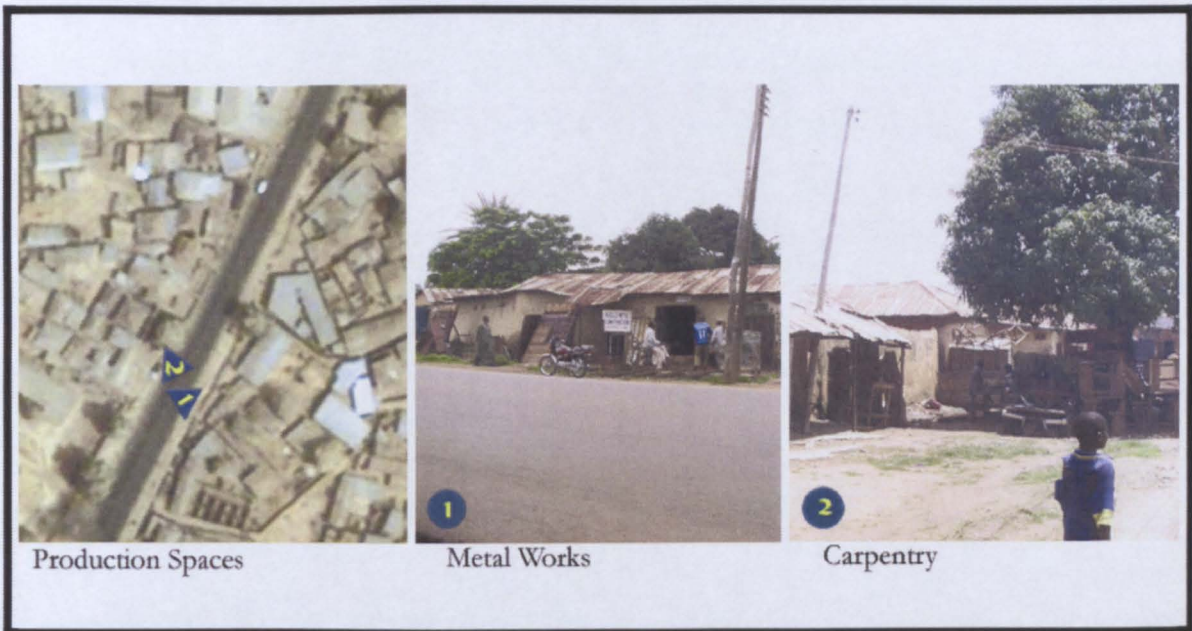


Figure 5-4: Production spaces on Kofar Doka city road

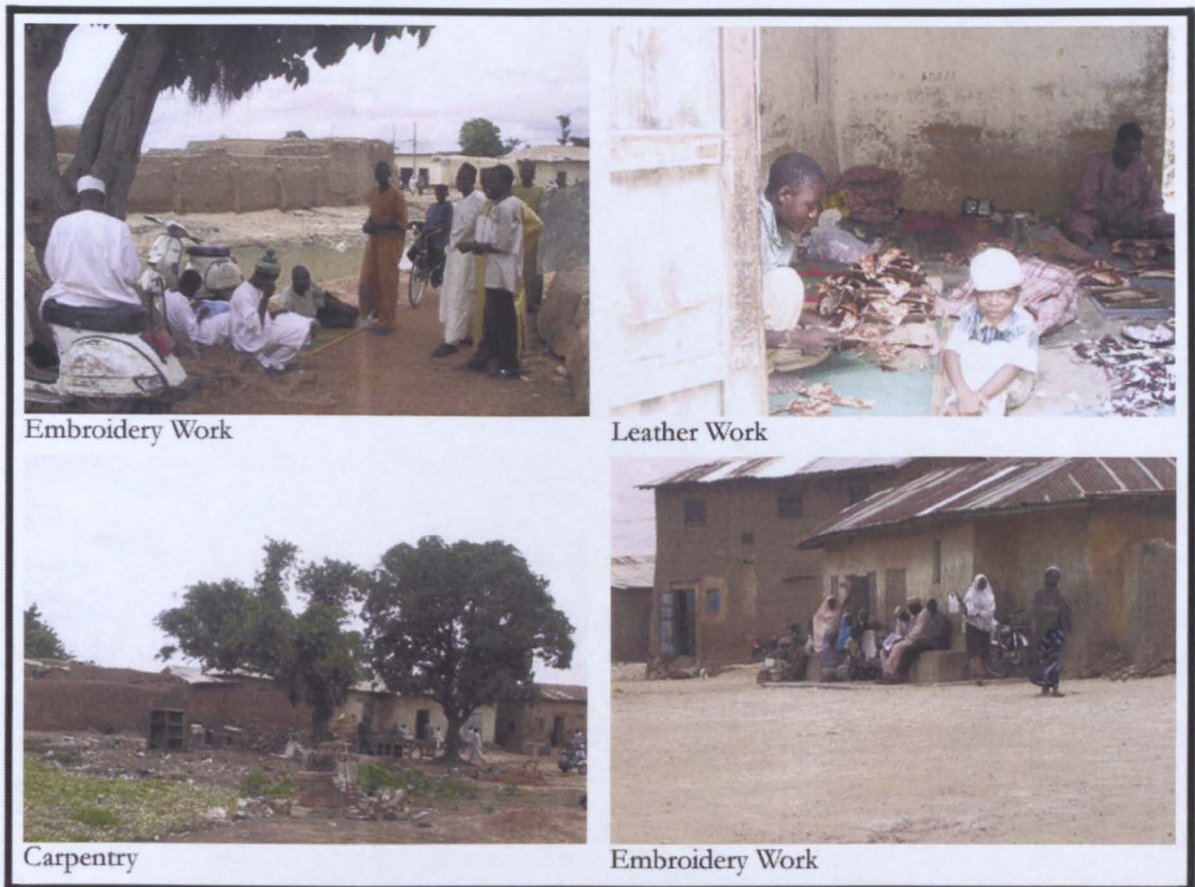


Figure 5-5: Production spaces inside quarters

5.1.1.1.5 City Gates

The city wall is currently bridged by 8 gates; Kofar Doka, Kibo, Jatau, Kuyambana, Gayan, Kona, Galadima and Bai. The wall is also bridged at several points by footpaths and vehicular ways. With the exception of two gates; kofar Bai and Galadima, all the others have entry portals. Figure 5-6 shows example of two of the gates with portals, Kofar Doka and Kofar Gayan. Kofar Galadima is virtually inactive. The other gates could be classified into two groups based on activity levels; four gates - Bai, Kibo, Jatau, and Kona are low activity gates, while the other three gates- Kuyambana, Gayan, and Doka are high activity gates. The low activity gates principally function as access points to the city and its wards. The high activity gates serve not only as the most prominent points of access to the city but have also evolved into transport hubs and places of active social life and commerce. In their everyday use, there is no entry control at the gates. During periods of civil strife, some form of control is exerted. The most common activities found at the gates include transportation, services such as mechanic work, cycle repair and servicing, manicure and barbing, different types of commercial activities, social interaction and recreation, production such as metal works, and religious activities including preaching.



Figure 5-6: Gates of the city

5.1.1.1.6 Natural Spaces

Zaria has pockets of natural yet to be developed land enclosed within its wall. These can be classified into two types; undeveloped land and undevelopable land. The undeveloped land consists of farmland and empty lots distributed within the fabric of the city. The largest and most significant of these is located close to the walls on the Eastern and South-Western parts of the city (Figure 5-7). The undeveloped farmland do not support any form of active social life. Undeveloped plots are, however, sometimes used as play areas by children, which more or less places them within the category of community spaces. Un-developable land in the city consists of burrow pit ponds (*Kududdufi*) and erosion gullies (Figure 5-8), and locations of hilly outcrops such as the Mardakaci hill. Burrow pit ponds and erosion gullies are found scattered within the fabric of the city, with the burrow pit ponds being more predominant than the erosion gullies. The spaces do not support any social activities. The ponds and erosion gullies are sometimes filled and used for building activities.

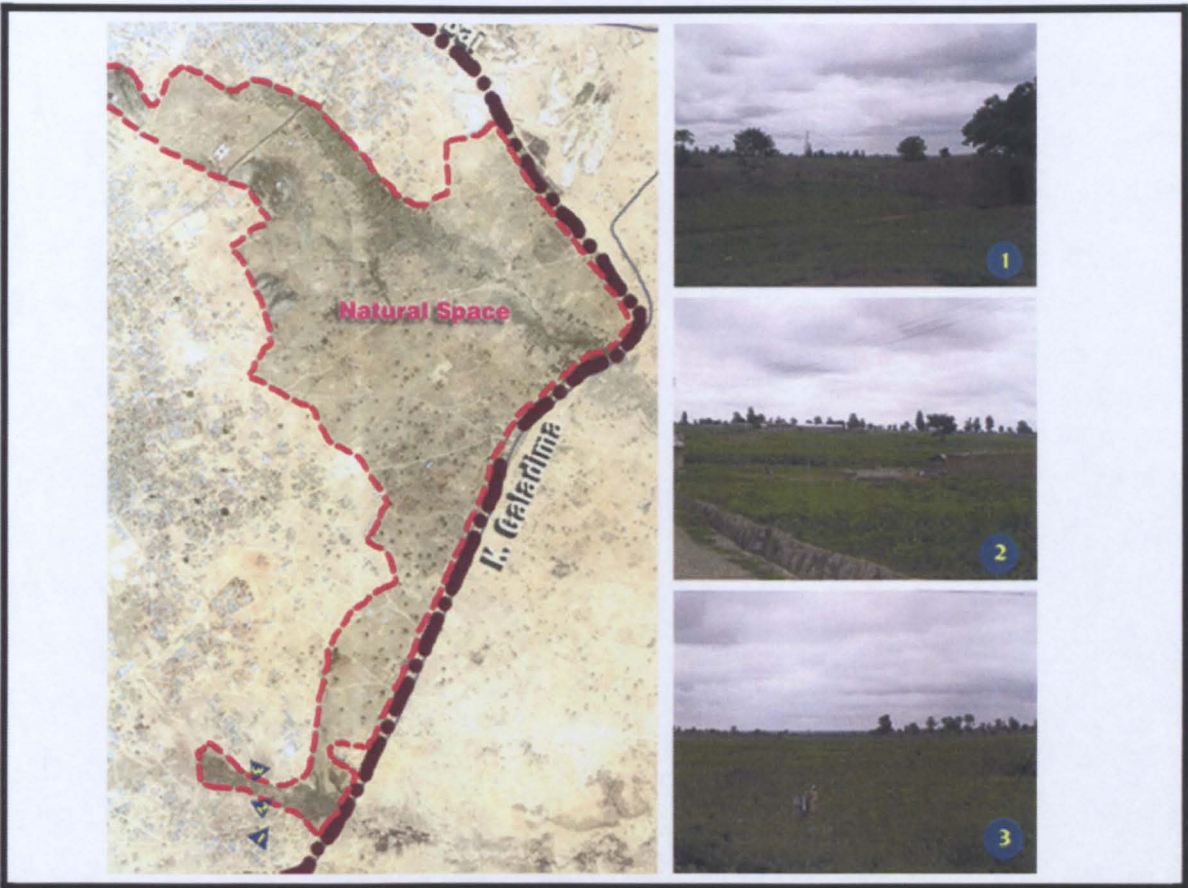


Figure 5-7: Example of natural space in Zaria’s urban space



Figure 5-8: Currently undevelopable natural spaces in Zaria's fabric

5.1.1.2 Quasi Public Spaces

Four types of quasi-public spaces; markets, religious, institutional, and entertainment facilities, exist as part of the current public space of Zaria. These spaces are distinguished by the fact that though they are virtually open and accessible to the public, they have parts or nested spaces that have a greater degree of restriction in terms of both access and activity.⁶⁶

5.1.1.2.1 Markets

Contemporary Zaria has one distinct central market that serves the whole city and functions as its economic centre (Figure 5-9). There is also a second market, the Amaru market, which functions as a district market serving the wards around it (Figure 5-9). In addition to these two, there is a weekly market, Kasuwan Katafawa, located on the Babban dodo Kofar Kuyambana road on the ward boundary between Rubu and Iyan Juma. This market is principally for women and is held in the evening on Mondays. There is also a small market at Rimin Tsiwa. Apart from these markets, trading is also generally pervasively distributed throughout the fabric of the city. In almost every corner, vendors and traders are found either on the move, or in small kiosk. In the middle of some quarters, concentration of the commercial activities results in small quarter markets which serve as mini commercial centres.⁶⁷ The prominent gates of the city; Kofar Doka, Gayan and Kuyambana, also have a large concentration of commercial activity, which in a sense also classes them as markets. The markets usually consist of rows of stores selling different types of goods. The actual types of goods vary according to the hierarchy at which market is functioning but it usually includes durable items, clothing, daily needs, services, snacks and ready food. Other than commercial buying and selling, the markets are also points of interaction, production and sometime recreation.

5.1.1.2.2 Religious Space

Mosques, which are the focus of the five daily Muslim prayers, are the only religious facilities currently found in the traditional city. These operate principally at three hierarchical levels. At the top is the Eid prayer ground located outside the city wall, which is used twice a year for the Muslim Eid prayers. Next is the Friday mosque located in the Dandali for the weekly Friday prayer (Figure 5-10). At the bottom are found a large

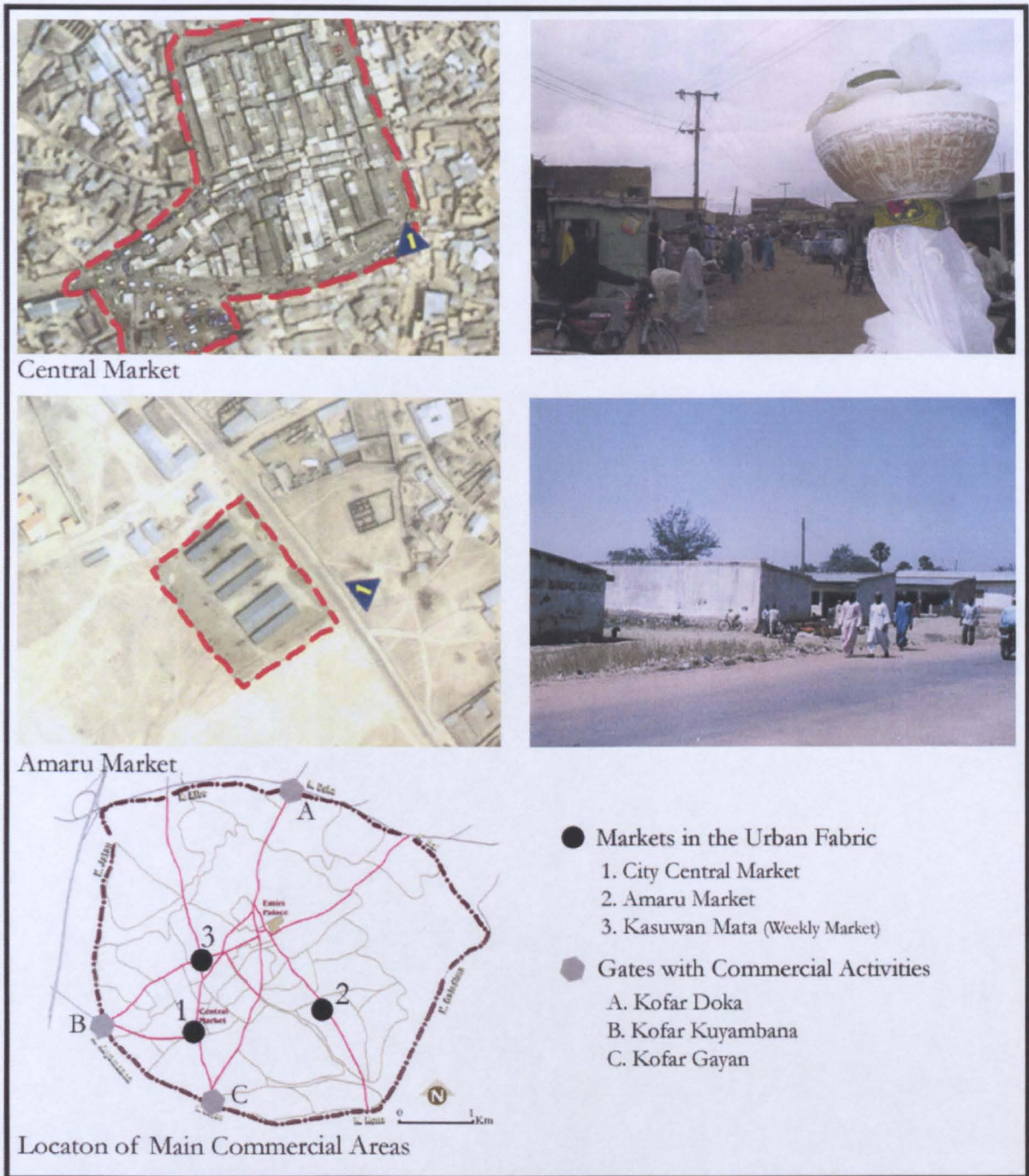


Figure 5-9: Market spaces

number of small mosques for regular daily observances (Figure 5-10). These were found in about 70% of the spaces observed, in almost all the nooks and corners of the city and in all spaces, where there is a concentration of people and activities. Mosques are the focal point of activities in many public spaces of the city. Apart from prayers, they also serve as places for social interaction. They are most active in terms of social interaction immediately following prayer observances.

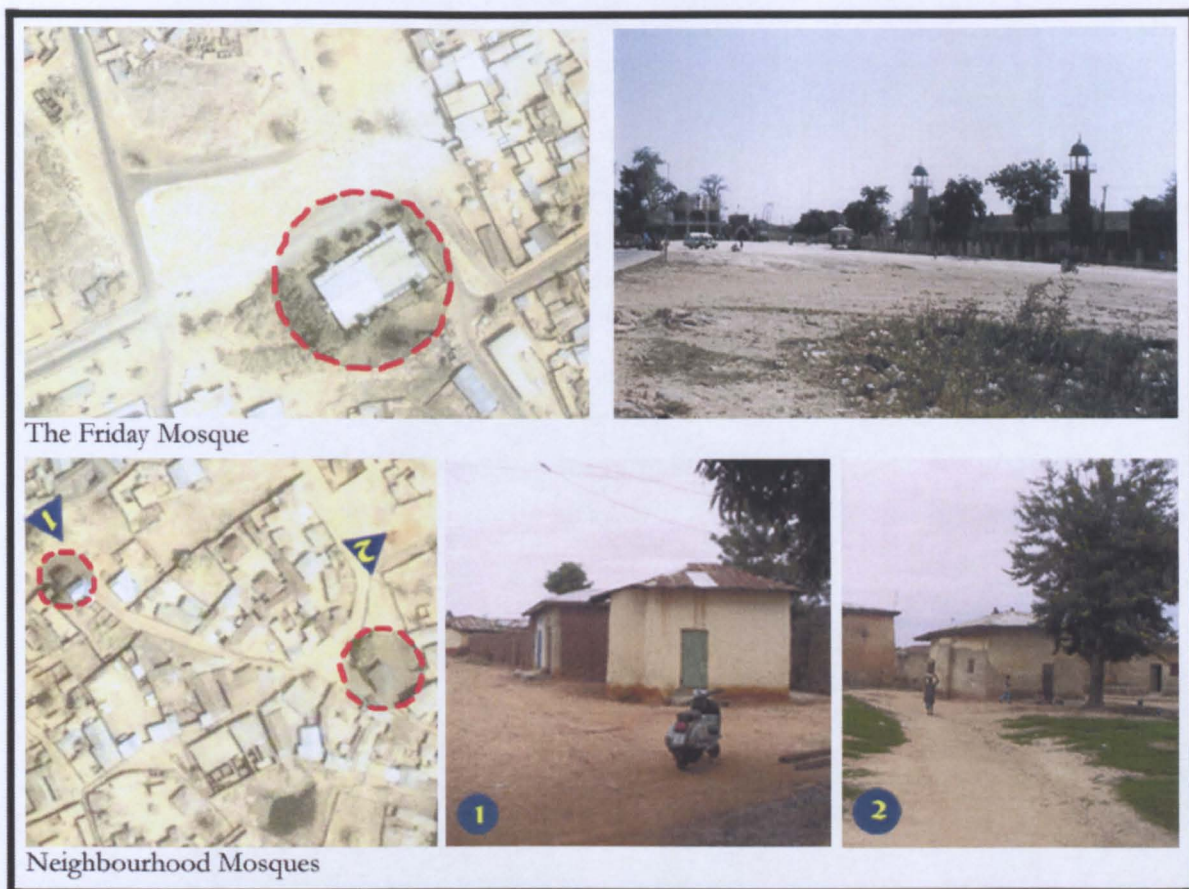


Figure 5-10: Mosque in the city fabric

5.1.1.2.3 Institutional Spaces

Institutional spaces in the contemporary city can be categorized into two; government facilities and schools. Figure 5-11 shows examples of both types of facility. Government facilities refer to facilities for political administration or provision of services to the public. The most prominent facilities in the walled city are found in the Dandali. These include the judiciary, the local government secretariat, the police headquarters and the office of the power supply company. Two other prominent facilities, the works department and the veterinary department, are located on the Babban Dodo roundabout to Kofar Doka road. Apart from these facilities, there are facilities, such as health centres, scattered within the city fabric. Schools in the city could also be categorized into two; schools for western secular education and Islamiyyah schools. The schools for secular education consist of primary and secondary schools. These may be fenced and gated or open. In almost all cases, whether fenced or not, the land belonging to the schools is usually freely available for sanctioned public activities during off-school hours. The islamiyyah schools, in some instances, combine western secular education with religious instruction. The islamiyyah genre schools are fewer in number in the city fabric. They usually have less land available

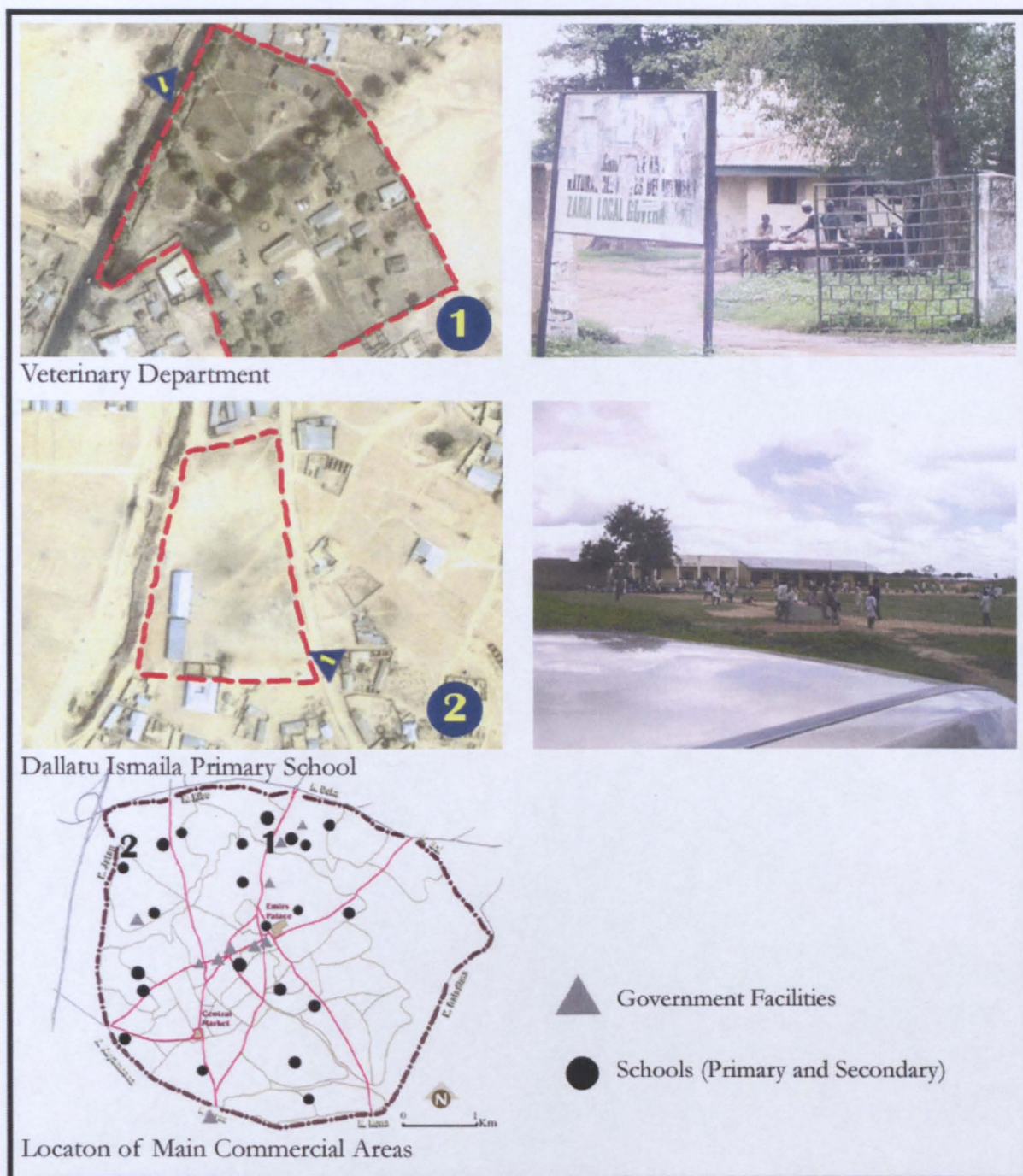


Figure 5-11: Institutional spaces in the city fabric

for public use but rather have their own activities spilling onto public space to complement on-street or community based activities. Institutional facilities act as a focal point for social activities that include recreational sports, interaction, commerce and hawking.⁶⁸

5.1.1.2.4 Entertainment and Recreation Facilities

The City Cinema, shown in Figure 5-12, established during the independence period remains the pre-eminent entertainment facility in the city, showing foreign films mostly Chinese and Indian, sprinkled recently with home-grown productions. Apart from the cinema, there are also a large number of small entertainment facilities distributed within the various quarters of the city in private houses run by individuals. These facilities are used for film shows to paying audiences using VCR and TV's or satellite dishes. The movies are usually American, and sports telecast. Advertisements for these are found in the form of posters on buildings, trees and special billboards within the city. These facilities are usually frequented by children, teens and young adults. The private entertainment facilities serve as focal points for social interaction.

Zaria has a single formal stadium is located on the road to the Dandali close to the round about (Figure 5-1), which is the premier recreational sport space of the city. The stadium consist of a large open play area that is fenced and used for formal sport activities, mainly football competition among the various clubs of the city or with visiting teams. Other than

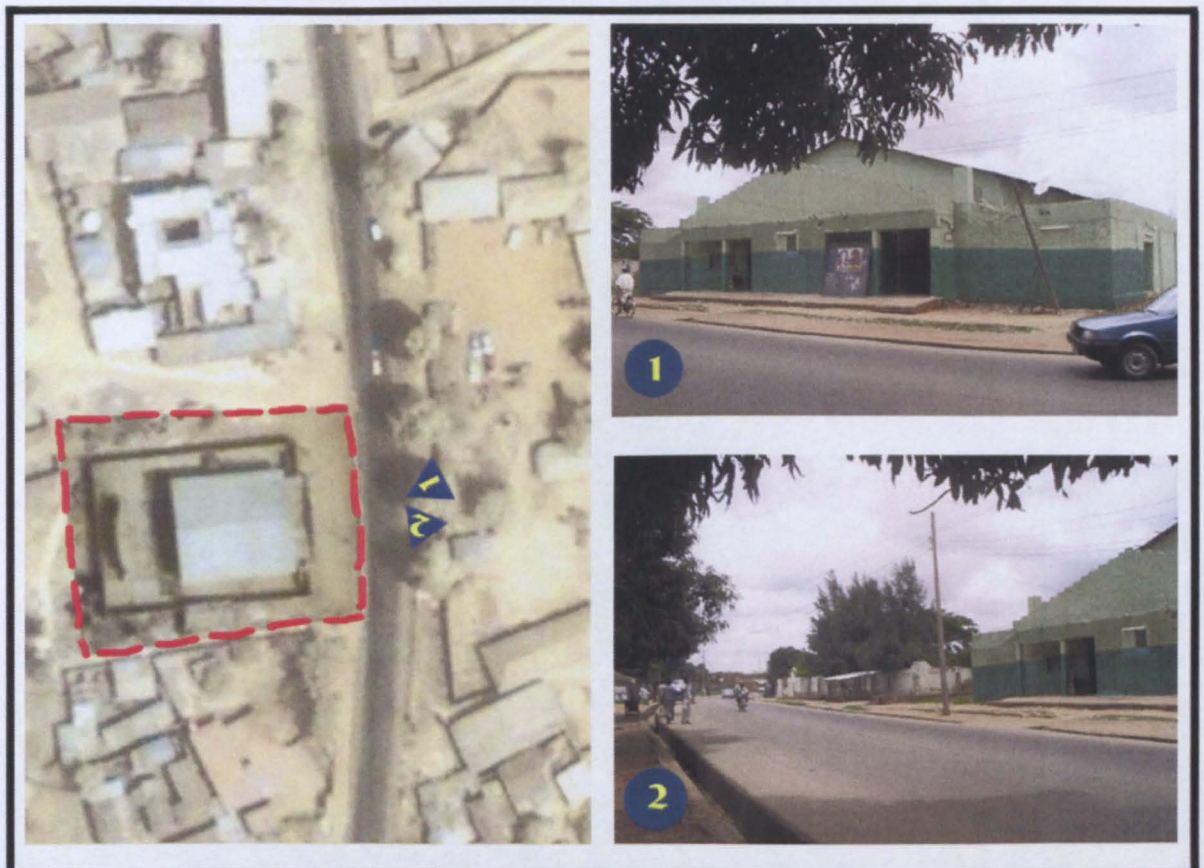


Figure 5-12: Entertainment spaces- paradise cinema, Zaria

the stadium, many institution spaces also have nested recreational sport spaces and facilities that are used by the general public (Figure 5-11).

5.1.2 Evolution of the Public Spaces

The types of public spaces found in contemporary Zaria have their roots in pre-Jihad forms. Three broad types of changes have been identified in the evolution of the types of public spaces from the Jihad period to their current form: addition of new spaces or space types; modification of the form or practices associated with particular space types; and elimination and disappearance of particular spaces and space types.

5.1.2.1 The Jihad Period

The principal space types inherited from the pre-Jihad period included gate, movement, production, community, natural, market, and religious spaces. The city, as earlier pointed out in chapter 4, already had its urban space defined by the current walls at the point of the execution of the Jihad in Zaria. Nine city gates were inherited from the pre-Jihad period, with one immediately sealed in the aftermath of the jihad. The gates functioned throughout the Jihad period as points of control for trade and tax collection, the control of slaves, especially runaways, lost children and stray animals (Moughtin, 1985, p.43; Achi 1985, p.124). The gates were oriented to serve particular groups of cities and the names of some of the gates reflected the cities they served.⁶⁹ There appeared to have been differentiation in the importance of the gates with the Doka gate serving Kano, Katsina and Damagaram and the Gayan gate serving Kachia, Keffi, Nupe, Oyo and Gonja being the most important. The gates were opened during the day and closed at night. Each gate had a Sarkin Kofa (chief of the gate) who was in charge of its administration.

Movement, production and community spaces types were inherited as part of the built fabric from the pre-Jihad period. The basic organization of movement spaces as a typology had been established prior to the Jihad. There was a network of streets that penetrated and connected the fabric and served as a means of transport by people and animals. While there were differences in width reflecting types of goods being transported, there is no evidence of any established hierarchical organization of the movement system either from the pre-Jihad period or during the Jihad period. As a space type, the road system maintained their form up to the colonial period. Production and services spaces were inherited as spaces for craft production activities nested in other spaces such as roadways, markets and residential

quarters. They essentially continued in this form throughout the Jihad period. Community spaces existed both in the pre-Jihad and Jihad periods as residential spaces formed by the grouping of Houses. There was no change to this unitary space type throughout the Jihad period. Complementing the public space types situated within the built fabric were natural spaces. These existed in both the pre-Jihad and jihad period as open farmland, located between clusters of houses and as a large chunk of open space in the periphery of the city walls, as marsh spaces in areas where streams cut across the fabric and as burrow pits and other hilly and eroded areas. The Market had been established prior to the Jihad in its current location. The market evolved during the Jihad period as a major hub of activity and as the pole of economic power in the city and the region. It functioned not only as the place for the marketing of goods from all over the region and beyond, but was also the hub of slave trading and the place for executions (Urquhart 1977, p.19). Slave trading contributed in making the Zaria market an important regional centre of economic activity.

Religious spaces appear to be a public space type that witnessed substantial reorganization during the Jihad Period. Zaria city appeared to have had both Islamic religious spaces existing side by side with spaces for ritual traditional religious *bori* practices and worship during the pre-Jihad period. The city had a Friday mosque located in Juma ward and a dedicated *Eid* ground outside the city walls. There is scant evidence to facilitate the determination of the number of mosque other than the Friday mosque existing within the city in the pre-Jihad period. There are suggestions that in that period, Islam was more a religion of the elite class. When this is coupled with manifest ignorance about Islam reported by explorers and the survival of *bori* practices to the present, the totality of evidence suggest that *bori* was the most dominant religious practice in the city during the pre-jihad and early part of the Jihad period, and was manifestly visible in public space at particular locations such as those of hilly outcrops such as the Madarkaci hill. The Jihad, therefore, appeared to have served as a turning point for the practice, progressively leading to its diminished importance as a religious activity and its visibility in public space. Islam on the contrary ascended in importance as its spaces became more visible. This position is strengthened by the observation of Staudinger (1889a, p.178) that there were "smaller prayer houses on several streets" suggesting that small mosques were common in the fabric of the city during the later part of the Jihad period. The reorganization of religious spaces in the period also saw the relocation of the Friday mosque from its pre-Jihad location in Juma ward to its present location at the Dandali in the 1830s (Moughtin, 1972, p.163).⁷⁰

Clapperton (1838) commenting on the mosque, notes that "near the center of the wall stands the principal mosque, built of clay, having a minaret about forty or fifty feet high."

The premier space established during the Jihad period is the Dandali. It is difficult to establish whether the present location of the Dandali had been in use prior to the Jihad period or whether the main institution that supports it, the palace, had been in existence from previous periods. There are two conflicting reports on when the palace was established. The Madarkaci wall suggests that the area was occupied in the 16th and 17th century. Dalhatu and Hassan (2000), building on oral history on the founding of Zaria, indicate that the palace existed in the location from the time of Bakwa Turunku. Majority of sources, however, hold the opinion that the palace was constructed in the aftermath of the jihad.⁷¹ Urquart (1977, p.14) commenting on the establishment of the palace points out that "Mallam Musa moved the administrative center of Fulani Zaria to its present location". The palace was located fronting an open area with low undulating outcrops. Subsequently, the Friday mosque and the Shariah courts were developed fronting the space. These developments assisted in defining the space and also in facilitating the rise in its significance as the premiere public space of the city. The development of the Shariah court in the vicinity of the Dandali, also marked the introduction of institutional spaces as a public space category into the urban space of Zaria.

A space type that existed during the Jihad period with a different form of practice is entertainment. Evidence from fieldwork data indicates that gambling (*chacha*) was a practiced past-time in the city and was sometimes combined in the same location with prostitution and *bori* rituals during the colonial period.⁷² Places identified with such activities include Kwarbai, Kanfage, Amaru, Anguwan Karfe, and in general areas around the city market. Specific places associated with such entertainment activities include Gidan Magajiya by the palace, Gidan Gimbiya yar Saje by the Market, Gidan Indo Captain and Labaran Yako in Kanfage. The evidence from the field work is supported by accounts of such activities in the vicinity of Zaria by Clapperton (1828), Staudinger (1889) and Smith (1954). Taken together, there is strong support that entertain houses existed that supported these activities in Zaria during the Jihad period and probably during the pre-Jihad period.

5.1.2.2 The Colonial Period

The colonial period saw changes in the form of the strengthening or expansion of some spaces, and the introduction of a new public space category. The colonial period saw additional developments in the dandali which strengthened the place as a public space. These included the addition of the Alkali court and Waziri's (Chief Minister's) office built in 1915 and improvements to the Emir's house in 1932 and 1938, and the building of a new native court to accommodate the chief and junior alkali in 1954 (Urquhart, 1977, p.17). The colonial period also saw the development of a motor road from the Kofar Doka through the Market to the Kofar Kuyambana, including the construction of a roundabout, at some distance from the dandali. The roundabout evolved not only as a point of access to the palace and Dandali, but has become a terminal marker for the space. The development of roads strengthened road spaces, introduced a hierarchical ordering to the space type and led to the emergence of prominent places, such as the roundabout mentioned, along the circulation and movement system.

Development intervention during the colonial period also served to strengthen the role certain spaces play and led to the establishment of public facilities as well as the creation of new government departments. The Zaria market was rebuilt in 1912 and 1913, and was completely modernized in 1954, strengthening the role it plays as the economic center of the traditional city. The Doka and Kuyambana gates were expanded to provide vehicular access to the city (Achi 1985, p.167), and by 1936 vehicular access was also provided through the Tukur Tukur gate (now Kibo) (Smith 1960, p.245). New institutional facilities were established including the prison yard and the CMS grammar school which later became Alhudahuda (Temple 1922, p.571), a health centre located at the Palace roundabout, and the Works and Veterinary Department located on the Kofar Doka to the roundabout road. All these facilities later evolved as places for activities of a public nature. Some of the institutional spaces incorporated recreational spaces within them, and so resulted in the introduction of this type of public space in the city. The CMS grammar school, for instance, had a football, basket ball and a fives field located as part of its compound. These formal sport facilities were the first to be introduced into the traditional city. The prison yard also encompassed a large open field in its front, which has with time evolved as play area and sports ground. Development during the colonial period strengthened the spaces affected and improved their attraction as places for public concentration and activities.

5.1.2.3 The Post-Colonial Period

Changes to the public space types during the post-colonial period have occurred in the form of changes in the forms of practices associated with spaces, expansion of some category of spaces and appropriation and use of spaces for new types of activities. Entertainment spaces have witnessed some of the most drastic changes in the form of practices. The entertainment associated with the city in the Jihad period in the form of Houses for gambling and associated activities have disappeared. Rather, a new cinema facility was constructed in the city in 1962. With the cinema, a new type of space constructed purely around electronic or visual entertainment was introduced. In the mid 1980s satellite broadcasting was introduced in the Zaria metropolitan area. Since then, satellite users have increased with the proliferation of different types of reception systems. This has led to the evolution of privately run entertainment facilities, acting as semi-public spaces for interaction and contacts. These spaces have proliferated since their introduction.

The post-colonial period also saw the expansion of institutional facilities especially primary and secondary schools. The increase in the number of schools has led to an increase in the number of spaces available for recreational sports. Many roads were also expanded, asphalted, and converted into motor ways, thereby attracting people and activities and becoming focal points of public activities. New markets were also established including the Amaru market. Open spaces including burrow pits have also been declining as they come under the pressure of development. Open spaces are now almost restricted to the periphery of the city gates especially along the north eastern and western outline of the city walls. There is also a growing tendency for open unused lots to be converted to play areas for the use of children, indicating a largely unfulfilled demand for recreation facilities.

5.2 Morphological Organization

This section examines the Morphological organization of public space within the urban fabric. It is divided into three parts. The first part examines types of open public space patterns and how they have featured at the different historical periods. The second part examines how public spaces are structurally linked and organized into a consistent whole within the built fabric, while the third part examines patterns of enclosure and enclosure surface treatment and how they have varied over the different historical periods.

5.2.1 Public Space Patterns

Open public spaces are generally recognized as an integrating framework for cities. The shape and relationship of open spaces to the built part of urban fabrics provide a means for discerning different types of development patterns within the fabric. Zaria's urban space can essentially be categorised into a developed part and a completely undeveloped part, existing as natural open space or farmland. If the built fabric of the developed part is analyzed based on how built form defines open spaces or open spaces define built form, then four morphological patterns of space, shown in Figure 5-13, can be identified throughout the history of the city.

1. Dense old areas Pattern- These are made up mostly of extended family irregular houses arranged in a very random organic manner with streets weaving in and out and opening up to create residential neighbourhood spaces
2. New city areas Pattern- usually made up of large regular single or multi-family houses arranged in a semi ordered fashion usually with rectilinear street form and absences of defined neighbourhood spaces
3. Dispersed (rural type) areas pattern - made of free standing houses or groups of houses in space
4. Formally planned areas Pattern – usually government facilities or estates situated within the organic fabric of the city with more regular planning and modernist in their space organization

These four space patterns co-exist in the contemporary city, and two of them, the new city areas and the planned facilities, were introduced during the post-colonial period. The other two patterns; the dense old areas and the dispersed areas pattern have prevailed from the pre-Jihad to the post-colonial period. What has changed significantly over time in terms of the two space patterns is the distribution of the built fabric between them. During the jihad period, the dispersed pattern predominated in the built fabric, with the dense pattern restricted to the wards around the market. A substantial part of the city was open space located at the periphery of the walls. Clapperton (1838, p.159) essentially describing this pattern observed that the city enclosed "a great space of ground, on which are built a number of little villages and detached houses, surrounded by high clay walls." There are

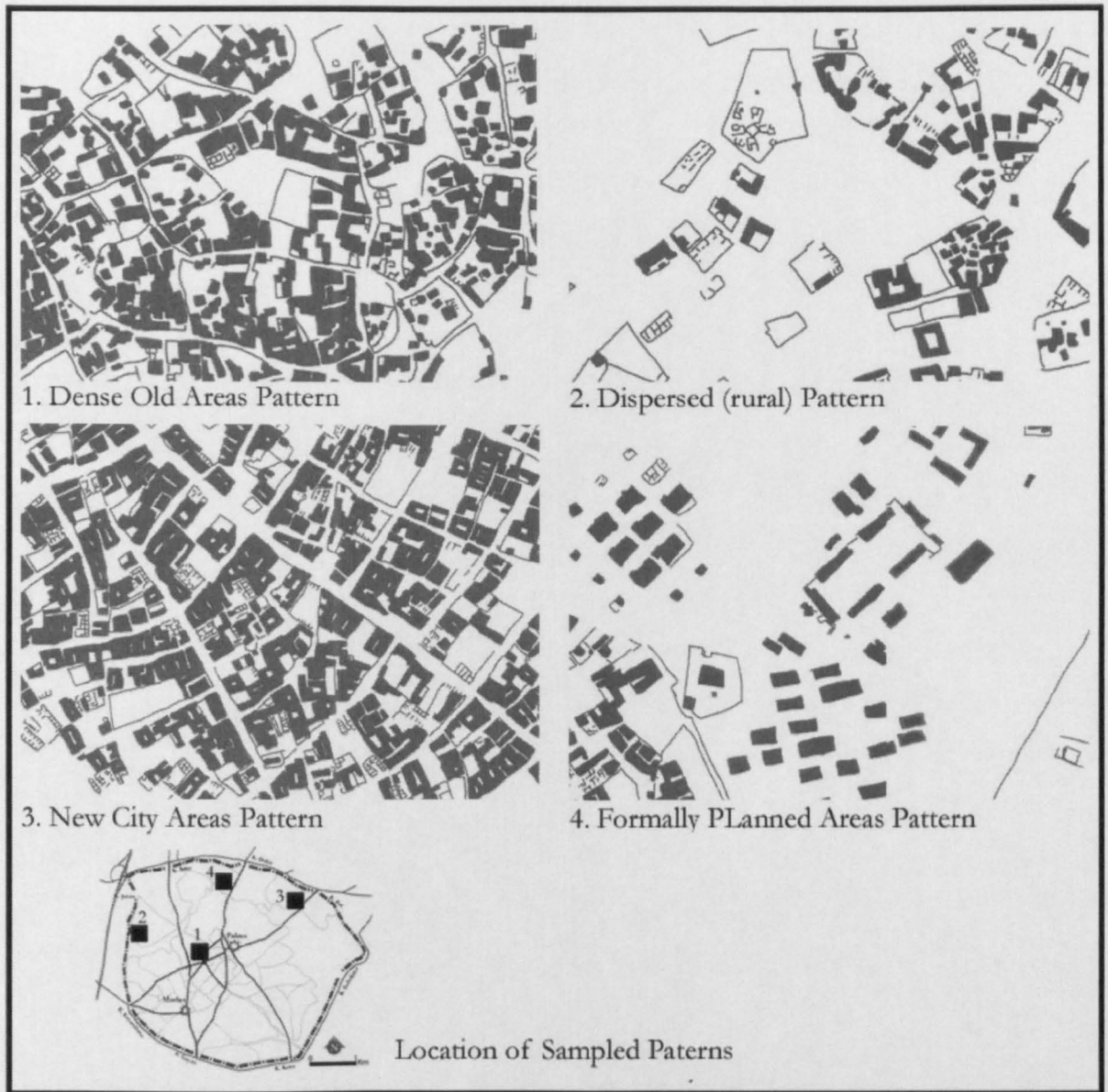


Figure 5-13: Types of space patterns in Zaria's built fabric

indications that as population increased over the course of the Jihad period and later declined towards the end of the period, there was a relative movement between the dense pattern and the dispersed pattern to accommodate population increase in the built space of the city. This relative movement would have seen Zaria with a significant incidence of the dense pattern in the middle of the Jihad period, and a lower incidence of it at the beginning and towards the end of the period. This is supported by the observations of Staudinger (1889a, p.177), who pointed out during his visit that "towards the town centre the streets become narrower and buildings more closely crowded but here too, as everywhere, were deserted compounds and derelict houses, witness of a more powerful city and a larger population in the past."

The lowering of Zaria's population during the early years of colonial rule would imply that the urban fabric was populated more by the dispersed type pattern than the dense area pattern, with the dense pattern limited to the vicinity of the market. This observation is supported by the statement of Cole (1952, p.47) who noted during the colonial period that "in Zaria city, there is little overcrowding or congestion...apart from the immediate vicinity of the market, there are plenty of sites available for building between the existing scattered compounds. These sites are at present farmed and held under inherited rights of occupation." The statement shows that up to the later part of the Colonial period, dense development in Zaria was restricted to the vicinity of the market. Zaria witnessed the beginning of its most dramatic change in the distribution of space patterns and also in the internal differentiation of patterns from the beginning of the 1970s. Development density dramatically began to increase leading to a decrease in the dispersed areas pattern. Internally also, differentials in development patterns became more noticeable. Support for this can be established by examining Figure 5-14, which shows two images of an area of the city around the palace at different periods. Image A is an undated picture, probably from the 1960s, while image B is an image taken in 2003. Examination of the two images shows a pattern of densification of the built fabric and movement from rural type to a dense space pattern. The changes happening in this sampled area is believed to one that can be generalized as a trend to the whole fabric of the tradition city during the later part of the post colonial period.

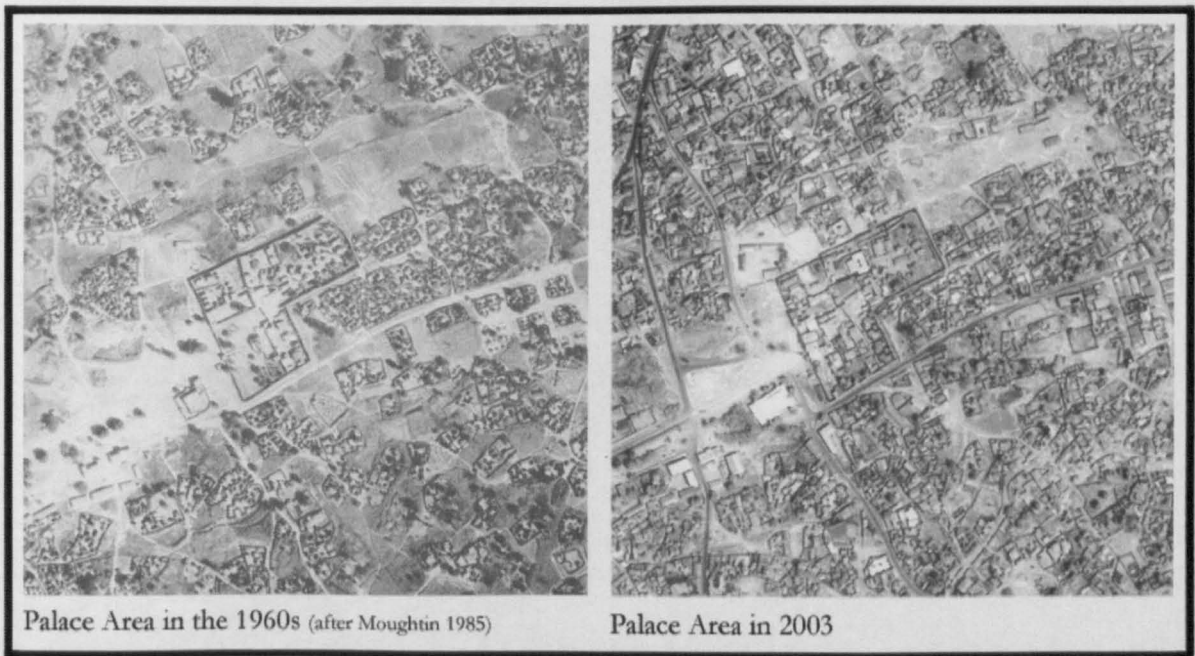


Figure 5-14: Change in density of development in a sample area

5.2.2 Structure and Organization

This part examines structure and organization from the perspective of plots configuration, urban block, and street patterns, and zoning and functional differentiation of the built fabric. Also examined is how elements of the fabric, including its public spaces, are integrated into a structurally consistent whole. Focus is on examining how structure and organization changes across the different historical periods.

In line with observations regarding evolution of public spaces and space patterns, it is also evident that development of the essential structure and organization of Zaria's fabric started in the pre-Jihad period and had become established by the end of the first three to four decades of the Jihad period. The typical structure and organization that evolved is captured in the conceptual diagram shown in Figure 5-15. This typical structure consisted of an isolated walled city with gates and palace and market as twin focal centres of administrative and economic activities (Urquhart, 1977, p.10). The typical structure evolved without any distinct form of land use zoning or "sharp distinctions between functions of the built up areas" (Moughtin 1985, p.43), except for the concentration of administrative facilities around the palace. Development was concentrated around the twin centres of market and palace. From these two areas, development gradually declines in varying proportions to the city walls reflecting observations about space patterns. The bulk of open spaces are found at the periphery of the walls. The whole city is united and given form through an organic movement system that originates from the gates and converge at the twin centres of palace and market (Figure 5-16). The movement network criss-crosses the whole city connecting places, people and activities, and serving as a spine for the expansion of the fabric. Within this structure, the open spaces and roads provide the linkage and connectivity for the variety of types of public spaces located within the fabric. Open spaces and roadways merge as narrow contained pathways within the dense part of the fabric but emerge on the outer edge of the fabric with open space serving as a containing element for houses in the dispersed areas of the city, leaving streets as the essential linkage and structural element (Figure 5-16). The built fabric of the typical traditional city did not have a repetitively defined plot and urban block pattern. Rather, plots and urban blocks are irregular in shape. Though there are defined social and administrative patterns of organization mapped onto the fabric, these are not defined physically as boundaries that can be perceived. The bulk of the built fabric is made up of an aggregate of residential compounds. These compounds which may be of extended family

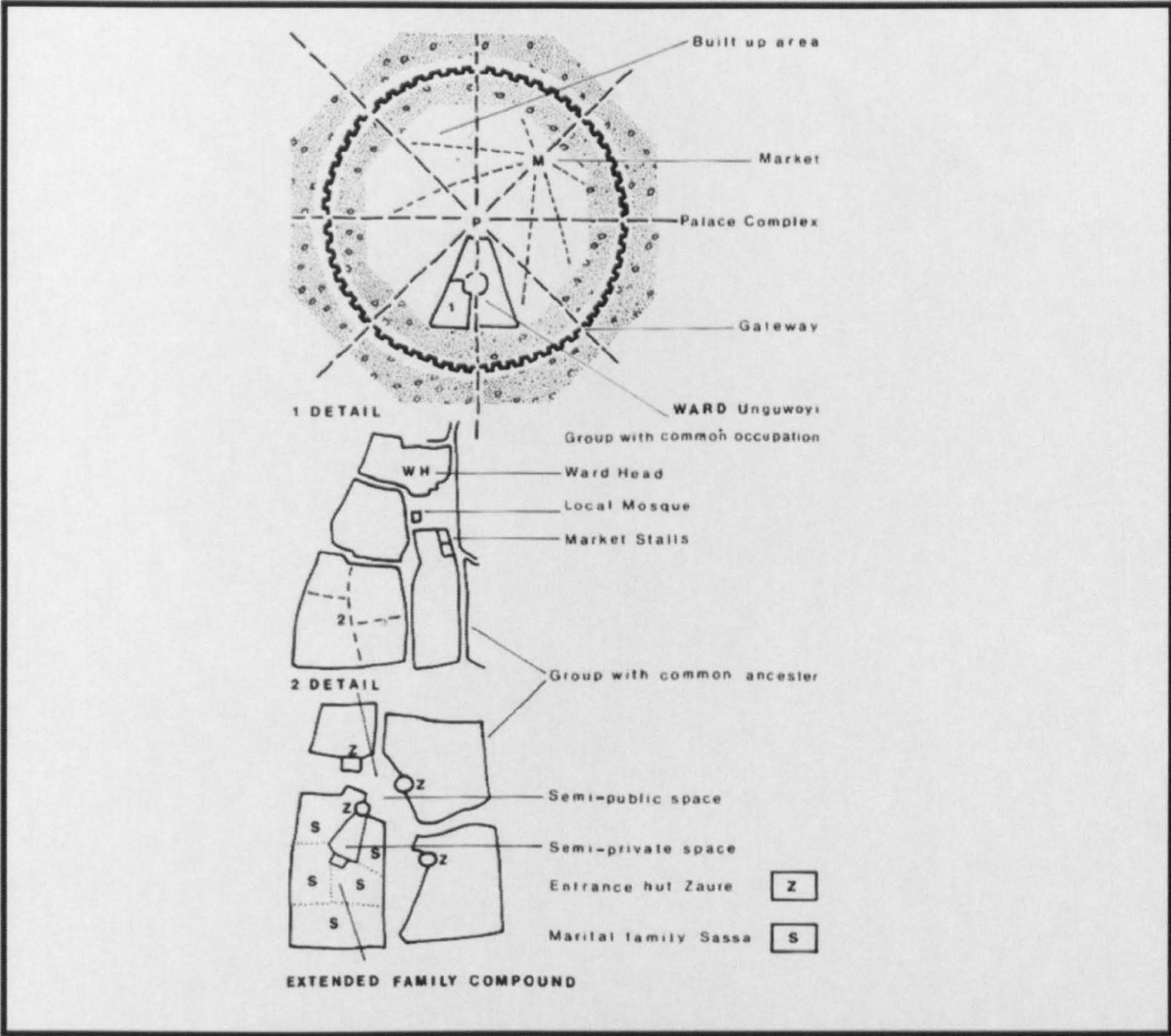


Figure 5-15: Structure of the built fabric of Hausa cities (after Moughtin 1985)

or single households are irregular in shape and enclosed by high walls establishing the dominant irregular plot and block pattern that is characteristic of the traditional city. The narrow passage ways that serve as the connective tissue of the city passes between the houses and open up at the junctions of a grouping of houses to define residential neighbourhood spaces. Entry to houses (*Zaure*) demarcates and provides the link between the semi-private spaces of the house with semi public residential neighbourhood spaces (Figure 5-15 & 5-17).

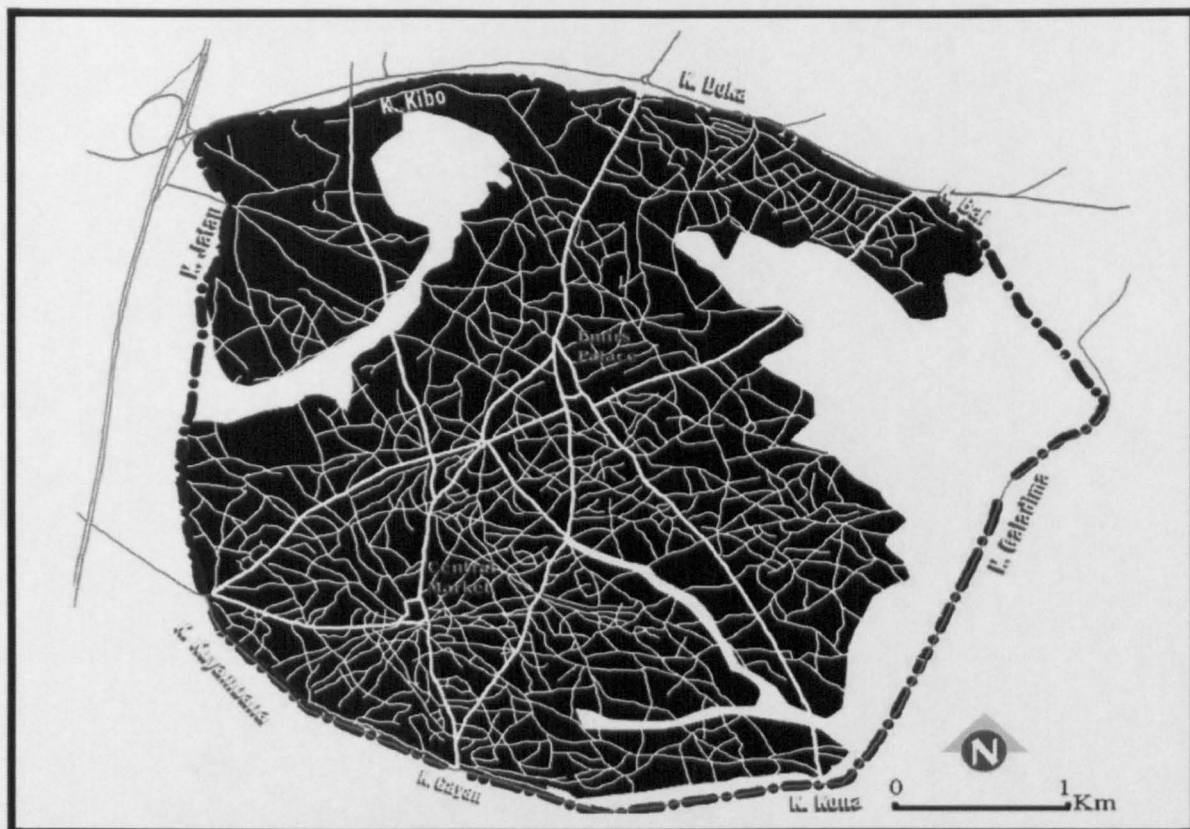


Figure 5-16: Structure of the built fabric of Zaria

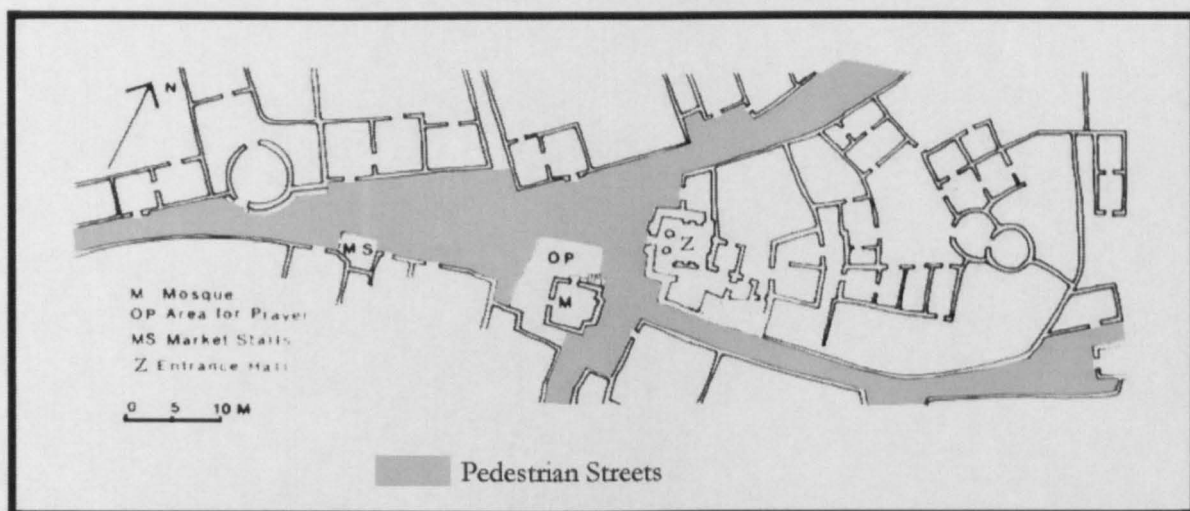


Figure 5-17: House-street relation in the built fabric of Zaria (*after Moughtin 1985*)

Zaria retained its typical structure and organization developed from the early part of the Jihad period up to the early colonial period (Staudinger 1889a, p.76; Mama 1966; Urquhart, 1970, p.1970), with change occurring mainly in the form of internal reorganization of the fabric, including of public spaces, and outward expansion within its containing walls. The developed part of the walled space of the city reached its greatest limit during the middle of the Jihad period, and this limit sustained up to the 1970s as was

shown in the examination of the historical growth pattern of the city in Chapter 4. The colonial period saw a reorganization of the fabric focusing on road development (TPO, 1946, p.4) and the construction of institutional facilities. The roads became strong armatures within the fabric of the city influencing both its organization and connectedness. The location of new public facilities along the new vehicular roads made the roadways a strong organizer and connector of public facilities and spaces.

Zaria retained its jihad built extent and morphological character along with the changes introduced during the colonial period into the 1970s (Urquhart 1970, p.124). From the 1970s, Zaria witnessed the expansion of its fabric, with the fabric expanding to almost 78% of the space defined by its city walls. Expansion was accompanied by a concurrent process of fabric reorganization. Along with built fabric expansion, Zaria witnessed an increase in the density of the built fabric. As was illustrated in the case of space patterns in Figure 5-14, Zaria witnessed the densification of its fabric with time, resulting in the prevalence of the dense type of development. New forms of development were introduced which also contributed in differentiating space patterns. The cases of planned institutional facilities and new city areas have already been identified in respect of space patterns. The introduction of these new patterns marked a breakdown of the traditional system of spatial structure and organization captured in Figure 5-15, whereby development was organic and groups of house define residential neighbourhood spaces. The new development pattern was rather more regular and linear in orientation. Physical development since independence has also resulted in opening up of many paved roads in the fabric and reduced the labyrinthine structure of the fabric. In the 1980s, the paved motor road network consisted of two main roads which enter the city at Kofar Doka and Kofar Bai with both leaving the city towards Kaduna at Kofar Kuyambana (Ebuga 1984, p.47). Since then, there has been additional road construction with paved streets now linking the Doka, Kibo, Kuyambana, Gayan, Kona and Bai gates with the central area of the city. The roads still converge and define the twin centres of market and palace

5.2.3 Pattern of Enclosure and Surface Treatment

This section examines changes in the pattern of public space enclosure and treatment with a focus on open public spaces in view of their connective function. The examination of changes in enclosure is carried out from two perspectives; from the perspective of three-dimensional pattern of open space enclosure, and from that of enclosure surface and its

treatment. Developments in patterns of open public space enclosure in Zaria closely mirror and are a corollary to those of space and morphological patterns already discussed. They also closely mirror changes in the availability of construction materials, technology of construction and finishing, and house form.

5.2.3.1 Pattern of Open Public Space Enclosure

The Jihad period form of open space enclosure evolved with houses of one story predominant in the fabric. Very few two story houses existed throughout the Jihad period and the few that did were located mostly in the vicinity of the market. The limited number of two story development in the built fabric was reflected in the recognition of the two-story house of an Arab as being among the remarkable buildings of Zaria by Staudinger (1889a, p.178). The city had narrow labyrinthine spaces within the dense part of the fabric with the high walls of houses defining and enclosing open public spaces. Thatched round hut entrance ways (*Zaure*) linked the private domain with that of the public (Figure 5-18 image 1). As one moves from the dense areas of the city around the market to the outlying areas, the street spaces open up as houses become more spaced out, and gradually lead to a



Figure 5-18: Enclosure of open spaces in Zaria's fabric (*Image 1 after DURP 1979*)

disperse pattern of development, whereby open spaces defined houses without any sense of enclosure (Figure 6-17 image 4). While space patterns might have changed over the Jihad period, the consistency of enclosure forms never changed and retained the character inherited from the pre-jihad period.

The prevalence of single story development and divisions between enclosed open spaces in the denser part of the fabric and scattered houses located in formless open space as one moves from the dense areas outward continued throughout the colonial period, and up to early part of the post-colonial period. There was an increase in 2-storey construction, with concentration around the market, and some scattered within the various wards of the city. Mama (1966, p. 27) in a study of a sector of the city estimated at between 8 to 10% of the built fabric located in the axis from Kofar Gayan Gate to the market, identified 9 2-storey buildings with 7 located close to the market. Her observation supports the conclusion that there was an increase in 2-story construction during the colonial period. When combined, however, with the observation of Urquhart (1970, p.124) that "the skyline of city is low and nearly level" then there is justification to conclude that the increase in 2-storey construction in the period did not significantly alter the form of enclosure of open public spaces. Since the 1970s, there has been an increase in the construction of multi-storey buildings, particularly 2 and 3 storeys. The increase is altering the form of open space enclosure, as is evident in Figure 5-18 (images 2 and 3). This is happening in a scattered fashion along major roads and within the wards of the city, concurrent with an increase in the density of development. The fabric is therefore evolving with both a denser pattern of development and a gradual increase in height, even though single-storey development still predominates.

5.2.3.1 Pattern of Enclosure Surface and its Treatment

The form and treatment of the boundaries defining open public space is one aspect where there has been a drastic change in Zaria's public space. New construction materials, technology and surface treatment, along with a gradual change in house form has led to a fundamental change in the visual image of the traditional city. The city fabric inherited at the beginning of the Jihad period had a fabric made from a single material of construction, mud. Houses were essentially similar in shape, being mostly round huts with thatch roofs enclosed within high walls. The "single material of construction, mud, and repetition of buildings of similar shapes, details and components" Moughtin (1985, p.43) observed, "created a visual unity of the total urban scene." This visual unity sustained throughout the

Jihad period and was slightly modified with expansion in square *soro* buildings with flat roof, which nevertheless blended with the fabric. There is no clear evidence supporting the widespread practice of exterior decoration during the Jihad period and even if it was practiced, there is likelihood that it was restricted to framing entrance doors. The early colonial period, up to the Second World War, saw an expansion in the construction of flat roof *soro* type buildings as well as house decoration. The period after this saw the introduction of new materials and construction techniques in the form of cement blocks, cement plastering, corrugated roofing sheets along with wooden and iron doors (Mama, 1966, p. 224-7). New forms of exterior decoration also became popular and were manifested in surface treatments. Houses evolved integrating new materials including corrugated sheets, cement plaster and gradually wooden and iron doors. This change has continued gradually, but has increased in pace since the 1970s. Not only did the pace of the adoption of new construction materials and technology become fast, but gradually, new housing forms in the form of detached villas and bungalows and regular multi-room houses began to be adopted. The net effect is that the visual unity associated with the enclosing surfaces of the fabric of the traditional city gradually disappeared. Instead an evident pattern of contrast has evolved. In moving through the streets of the city, the contrast is expressed in difference between traditional and modern construction, between completed and uncompleted buildings, between wealth and poverty, between old rich and new rich, and between concrete construction and mud construction. Figures 5-18 (images 2 & 3) and 5-19 illustrate the contrast in the enclosing elements of Zaria's open public spaces.

5.3 Production and Management

5.3.1 Agents and Process in Space Production

This section examines the public space production process with a focus on identifying changes in two aspects; significant agents in space production, and the nature of the public space production process.

5.3.1.2 Agents in Space Production

Examination of the space production process throughout the period from the Jihad to the post-colonial period leads to the identification of 6 key agents or system of agency that have influenced the development of public space in particular and the overall fabric of Zaria city in general. These agents are: the Emir, judges, the British colonial



Anguwan Masa



Salmanduna



Alfadarai



Anguwan Juma



Kofar Kuyambana



Kofar Kuyambana

Figure 5-19: Treatment of Building façade in the Present Urban Fabric

administration, educated and rich elites, the city residents and builders, and the Local Government Council, including other higher hierarchies of governance. The role of agents varied depending on historical period.

The Emir is the only agent who has maintained a position of power and influence throughout the period of interest in the research. During the Jihad period, the Emir emerged embodying both political and spiritual power. Political power gave the Emir the ability to influence all aspects of the development of Zaria city, including physical and social. He

controlled land allocation and resolved disputes about land. As the controller of land for both public and private development, he had the power to influence the location of individuals, spatiality and general social character. He had the ability to commandeer people for work of a public nature, including the construction of walls, gates and markets (Orr 1965, p.155) and he initiated the construction of important public facilities such as the Friday mosque and the shariah court. The powers of the emir were reduced during the early part of the colonial administration when limits were placed on them through the institutionalization of governance and the spelling out of responsibilities of agents of colonial governments. This limitation was greatly diminished towards the later part of the colonial period with the enactment of the Native Authority ordinances and the recognition of the Emir as the 'Sole Native Authority' (Whittaker 1970, p.92). The post-colonial period has resulted in the Emir losing both his political and symbolic religious power and executive status. He has been reduced to a nominal figure, a symbol of culture and tradition with little power to directly intervene and influence Zaria's physical development. Even then, however, it is widely believed that he has the influence and power to indirectly influence the course of the city's development.

Judges of the Shariah courts would definitely have influenced the pattern of the development of Zaria's fabric during the Jihad period in view of their role as the interpreters of the detailed legal provisions of the Shariah which governs development practices in Islamic societies. Detailed evidence of their role is not available to support a meaningful understanding and discussion of their agency role. The fact that their appointment was at the pleasure of the Emir might mean that their authority was limited. The colonial period, however, saw a strengthening of the role of judges as they challenged the control of land matters by the Emir. Cole (1952, p.52) notes that by 1920 the Emir was still controlling land matters but was being challenged by the judiciary and that by the time of writing his report, all land cases were being dealt with by Native Courts with the Emir's judicial council serving only as an appeal body. The situation points to the emergence of the judiciary as a significant player in the development process. While they have retained this power into the post-colonial period, the established nature of the fabric in the period and the diminishing availability of development land is limiting the role of the judiciary as important agents in space productions.

The imposition of colonial rule elevated agents of British colonial administration into a position of prominence in the development of Caliphate cities, including Zaria. In Zaria, their activities elevated them to the most important agents in the production and organization of the fabric. They initiated the reorganization of the administration of the city (NAK ZAPROV 3138-1938), introduced the concept of municipal organization, planning and service provision (Whittaker 1970, p.192; Smith 1955, p.170), initiated the construction of public facilities of all sort in the fabric, introduced new materials, development forms and patterns and took decisions on development and facilities outside the city that fundamentally altered the situation of Zaria.

The development form and patterns found in Zaria's fabric has also been significantly impacted by rich merchants and educated elites of the city. Their influence could be traced to the colonial period and stems from their early adoption of new practices, which influence development forms in the traditional city. Rich merchants were for example among the earliest group of people to adopt multi-storey construction, which has since the colonial period expanded within city. Educated elites were the product of schools established by the British colonial administration. They were able to influence development both in their push to improve service provision to citizenry as part of the Native Authority system as well as adopt artefacts that influenced practices in the city. The influence of the two groups continues to the present as major sources of new development ideas. Private Citizens also played a significant part in the development of the Fabric and public spaces of Zaria. The bulk of the built fabric, as earlier highlighted, is residential in nature. Private practices regarding house production, the nature of land inheritance and conceptions of the right way of doing things, as well as the increase in demand for private development land has influence the evolution of Zaria's fabric and its public spaces.

Since independence, new structures of political administration, particularly the Zaria Local Government and the Kaduna State Government among other structures of governance have evolved as the actors with the most significant power to shape Zaria's development. The Zaria Local Government and its agents and agencies are responsible for development at the local level of the traditional city. They are responsible for providing basic infrastructure and services such as road construction, drainage system construction, refuse collection and so on. In conjunction with other agencies of the State government, they are also responsible for development control. A dedicated agency, the Kaduna State Urban Planning and

Development Board is responsible for the planning and control of development in urban areas. The agency has a branch office responsible for the planning and control of development in the Zaria metropolitan area. The state government also occasionally intervenes and participates in development projects in Zaria. These have included road construction, and the construction of public facilities such as schools.

5.3.1.2 The Process of Production

The process of producing Zaria urban fabric and its embedded public spaces can be broadly categorized into two types; the production process of private space which gives form to public open spaces, and the production of public facilities. The first form of production has remained constant, with very minimal changes, throughout the history of the city, while the latter form has evolved and changed with time.

The production of private houses which forms the bulk of the fabric of Zaria remains an activity that is family oriented. From the pre-Jihad period, rights of occupation to land are held by families, and passed down along generational lines. Guided by the provisions of the Maliki code of development, "good neighbourliness and close family relationships between adjoining compounds and a common interest in the use and maintenance of public spaces" (Moughtin, 1985, p. 49) private houses are developed with provisions and allowances for required public spaces. The conception of a right way to design the private houses means that they are also developed with the required allowances for the public-private interface between the domain of the house and that of public space. The actual production of most private houses was done through self-help involving the owner and his relatives in construction with limited participation by paid labour, except in aspects such as roofing where expertise is required (Staudinger 1889b, p.98). Rich people do, however, engage the services of professional builders in housing development. The unique recyclable nature of the dominant construction material, mud, makes it susceptible to a process of decay when left abandoned, with built plot reverting to back to its natural state as part of the open public spaces of the city. The nature of the development process meant that houses did not enjoy a commodity values and this seems to have remained so up to the later part of the colonial period (Cole, 1952, p.46).

The process of house development inherited from the past has survived in its substantial form to the present with minimal changes, despite the existence of formal processes of

development control. Land scarcity in the traditional city has led to the emergence of a market in it. Analysis of the development pattern of the city reveals that the intensity of new development is concentrated in areas where speculators have access to vacant lands. The introduction of new construction materials has meant that construction is no more substantially carried out through self help. The general development process of the city is gradual and incremental as most construction is carried out according to the availability of resources and this could stretch over a number of years. An examination of the fabric, including the figure-ground of the city reveals that the whole fabric is a construction site. Every house has new construction in progress or is in the process of changeover from traditional materials to new more modern materials, while the city is also expanding in areas of vacant land availability. Though there are laws to guide development that spell out control procedures, they are not rigidly or effectively enforced, so housing developments is still at the behest of owners and production of public space from private housing development is still happening in an informal fashion rather than in a planned way. A similar situation was reported by Urquhart (1977, p.9) suggesting that this situation has existed for a long time.

The production of public facilities has varied with the different periods in the history of Zaria. During the Jihad period, facilities production occurred at the behest of the Emir. There were two processes of production in operation; through the use of communal labour and expert builders. The construction of walls, gates and bridges and their repair was undertaken as communal labour (Hogben 1967, p.118; Orr 1965, p.155). Wards and district heads were given responsibility of supplying labour and undertaking portions of development activities. In the case of the market, the *Sarkin Kasuwa* (king of the market) would be mandated to commandeer traders and guilds working in the market to undertake construction or repair activity. The use of expert builders was reserved for important public facilities such as the palace, the Friday mosque and the Shariah courts. Expert builders would be commissioned to produce the facilities and be paid from state resources (Staudinger 1889b, p.98). They might be assisted by slaves of the state. The process of public facility production changed in the colonial period with the expansion of the provision of the facilities. A specialized department, the Works Department was established to either undertake or oversee the production of public facilities. The system of payment for the use of communal labour in public facility production was introduced. The colonial administration introduced a rudimentary system of development planning and

implementation making public facility production more systematic. The post- colonial period has witnessed an expansion in the provision of public facilities, particular institutional facilities. There has also been an expansion in road development. The process of facility planning and provision has, however, evolved to be ad hoc, with no effective established system for planning and provision or guiding overall development. The only attempt at systematic planning was the preparation of a Master plan (DURP, 1979) for the Zaria metropolitan area carried out in the 1970s. The plan has remained largely not been implemented while the city continues its natural organic process of growth. The overall examination of space production by the public sector shows that the city has never had any significant planning and development initiative aimed at upgrading its urban fabric and public spaces throughout the period under examination.

5.3.2 Ownership, servicing and Management of Public Spaces

Examination of ownership servicing and management of public spaces focuses on seeking answers to the questions of ownership and responsibility for servicing and managing the public spaces. The focus is on identifying patterns of ownership right and of the exercise of the responsibilities of servicing and management.

5.3.2.1 Ownership of Public Spaces

The root of the system of ownership of public spaces and facilities in Zaria appears to be laid in the Islamic shariah, though not in a rigid fashion. The shariah as a legal system has established concepts of land and associated facility ownerships with specific rights and obligations attached to types of ownership (Al-Said & Garba, 2003, p.65). The Islamic shariah recognizes three types of ownerships for landed properties; private, communal, and government ownership, with each ownership type differentiated further according to rights of holders. These three types of ownerships appear to have been the prevalent types throughout the history of Zaria from the Jihad to the present. Private ownership of public spaces has occurred in the form of production spaces, entertainment spaces, open farmland and vacant lots. Communal ownership exists for resources that are for the free use of the community with due regards to the rights of others. Public spaces that are owned as communal resources include the Dandali, roads and movement spaces, residential neighbourhood spaces, city gates, some natural spaces, and mosques. In all periods of the history of the city, the government and its agencies, including the judiciary, mediates in the use of the communal resources. The last form of ownership, government ownership, is

applicable to markets, institutional facilities, including recreation facilities such as the stadium. In this category of ownership, the government exercises direct rights as owners of the facilities through their agents and agencies, even though these facilities are available for the free use of the public.

5.3.2.2 Servicing and Management of Public Spaces

Servicing of public spaces is examined from the perspective the provision of infrastructure and services, including cleaning, refuse collection and general beautification, while management is considered from the respective of who exercises responsibility for the public places in terms of servicing and mediation of use and access. The examination points to differences in regime between the three historical periods of interest.

During the Jihad period, a municipal regime of servicing and maintenance which is common to many cities did not exist. In fact, the emphasis in governance was not on facilities provision or maintenance but on political control. The exercise of ownership control by the Emir and his administration was restricted to spaces and places that are in some way linked to the ability to facilitate political power and its retention. Spaces which fall within this category include the gates and associated city walls, markets, production spaces, religious spaces and institutional spaces. For these spaces, officials of state were appointed who oversee their administration and upkeep, and who control access and their use. In most cases, there was no regular regime of servicing and maintenance. It was usually carried out when needed, usually in the dry season, with labour communally supplied or through slave labour. When an Emir does not have the necessary power or authority to get such activities carried out, then there is a decline in the spaces or facilities. This was the case with the Zaria town walls towards the end of the 19th century when it was breached in several places (Staudinger, 1889a, p.76) and in a state of disrepair due to an incessant competition for kingship that created instability. For public spaces in the city, servicing and management appears to be carried as a communal activity, most likely as a result of Shariah provisions and also, as Moughtin (1985, p.49) has observed in the case of residential spaces, from common interest by neighbours in the use and maintenance of the spaces.

The colonial period saw a change in the situation with the establishment of the Native Authority, with its technical departments and their focus on extension services to the

community. Departments and agencies of the native administration were responsible for the management and maintenance of institutional facilities and their associated public spaces including the market, the prison, the Shariah court, and schools (Arnett Esq 1922). The Works Department was responsible for road improvements and maintenance and the Sanitary Department for improving general hygiene in the city. Though the colonial period saw an improvement in the servicing and management of public spaces and facilities, the improvement was not universal and it was not undertaken in a systematic and planned way with the goal of generally improving the physical condition of the traditional city. Rather, the expressed objective of indirect rule was to as much as possible preserve the forms and lifestyle of the traditional city, with intervention aimed at maintaining public order and improving public health. So many public spaces remained under a state of servicing and management inherited from the Jihad period.

In the post-colonial period, the servicing and management situation has evolved to be no different from what prevailed during the colonial period. There has been an expansion in the provision of public facilities by the government. This expansion has not, however, been matched by the establishment of means for the servicing and management of public spaces and facilities. This is despite having a local government Council, whose sole responsibility is for the development of the city. The regime of servicing and management in the period could generally be categorized into three, along with forms of ownerships. Government facilities such as institutions, markets, stadium etc, are placed under the responsibility of specific agencies and agents. These seem to have a clear chain of management and servicing responsibility. Actual management is however impromptu and inadequate. Despite the inadequacy, they are better managed than facilities and spaces that are communally owned. Such spaces have been left largely operating as they were in the Jihad and colonial period, managed and serviced by the communities or individuals that use them. Private facilities such as entertainment and production spaces are serviced and managed by their individual users. The lack of unified regulations governing these facilities means that servicing and maintenance can vary widely and some, such as car repair facilities, do contribute to the degradation of the urban environment.

The examination of the contemporary city generally shows that many roads are in a poor state, there is a persistent refuse problem across the whole city and some parts are susceptible to flood, all pointing to the inadequacy of servicing and management. In

undertaking field work in the city, the research team was subjected to different forms of inquiries by the residents of the city in the hope that the activity in progress was a survey for the provision of public infrastructure. The most common guesses were road construction or water provision. In the Dan Madami ward, an old man informed the team that the community has been clamouring for drinking water since 1940 without success. In Anguwan Iya, where a flood problem exist, the leader of the community lectured the team for more than 30 minutes on the problem and how their attempt to get the local government to act has failed. In Anguwan Mallam Sule, the only traditional dye pit operator stopped the research team from taking pictures of the dye pit because of his displeasure at the inability of the government to clear the refuse dump in the area. Even when informed him that the team is not from the government and permission had been granted for the survey by the Emir, he refused and instead signified his displeasure with all arms of government in the city including the traditional institutions. His reaction reflected the general perception on the street, that there is very limited public sector participation in the servicing and management of public and urban space of the traditional city.

5.3.2 The Amenity Value of Public Space

This section examines that amenity value of Zaria's public space based on comments on its aesthetic value or lack of it and its visible urban problems from both historical sources and the examination of the contemporary city. There are very few historical sources that have robust information on the attractiveness or beauty of the fabric of the Zaria Traditional city. One of these few sources is Clapperton (1838, p.160), who commenting on the city notes that "The environs of the city are beautiful being formed of gentle ridges of land and plains; here and there one finds large shady tree, and small stream of water; the rocky mounts to the north and south adding beauty to the scene." Staudinger (1889a, p.76) talks of a road leading to Tukur-tukur as the only one having a tree line and resembling an avenue. Moughtin (1985, p. 43-4) also talks of a greenness associated with Zaria, which has been enhanced by the building of schools with large playing field. Beyond particular places or space, it appears that what has mostly attracted people to Zaria, and probably the other Hausa cities, was its city form and architecture. Moughtin (1985, p.43-4) in reference to this talks of the "the visual unity of the total Urban scene", while and Urquhart (1977, p.2) talks of "'natural' growth of the urban landscape". An assessment of the contemporary physical fabric of the Traditional City based on the analysis of fieldwork data reveals that there are places within the fabric that are well organized, with pleasant aesthetic qualities as

shown in Figure 5-20. Natural, green and sparsely populated areas are usually much more pleasant than the densely populated parts of the city. Also the major city and distributor roads are more pleasant than inner neighbourhood roads. The residential quarters bordering the city road from Kofar Doka to Babban Dodo appear to be the most pleasant in the city. The northern segment of the city is also generally better drained and more pleasant than the southern segment.

There have been more reports of amenity problems in Zaria's material fabric than of its appeal. Staudinger P (1889a, p.179) reports that "the town seemed to be very unhealthy." He goes on to list the different kinds of diseases in the city making it difficult to assess if his comment refers to the city or the people or both. Mama (1966, p. 49), who studied a segment of the city towards the market, also observed that "there is very poor sanitation in the city. The passage ways are blocked with stagnant waste water, refuse is disposed everywhere, even in the passage ways." Mama also observed that problems are more pronounced in the denser part of the fabric close to the market and less noticeable towards the gates, where there is a lot of open land (Mama, 1966, p.30). Urquhart (1977, p.22) also

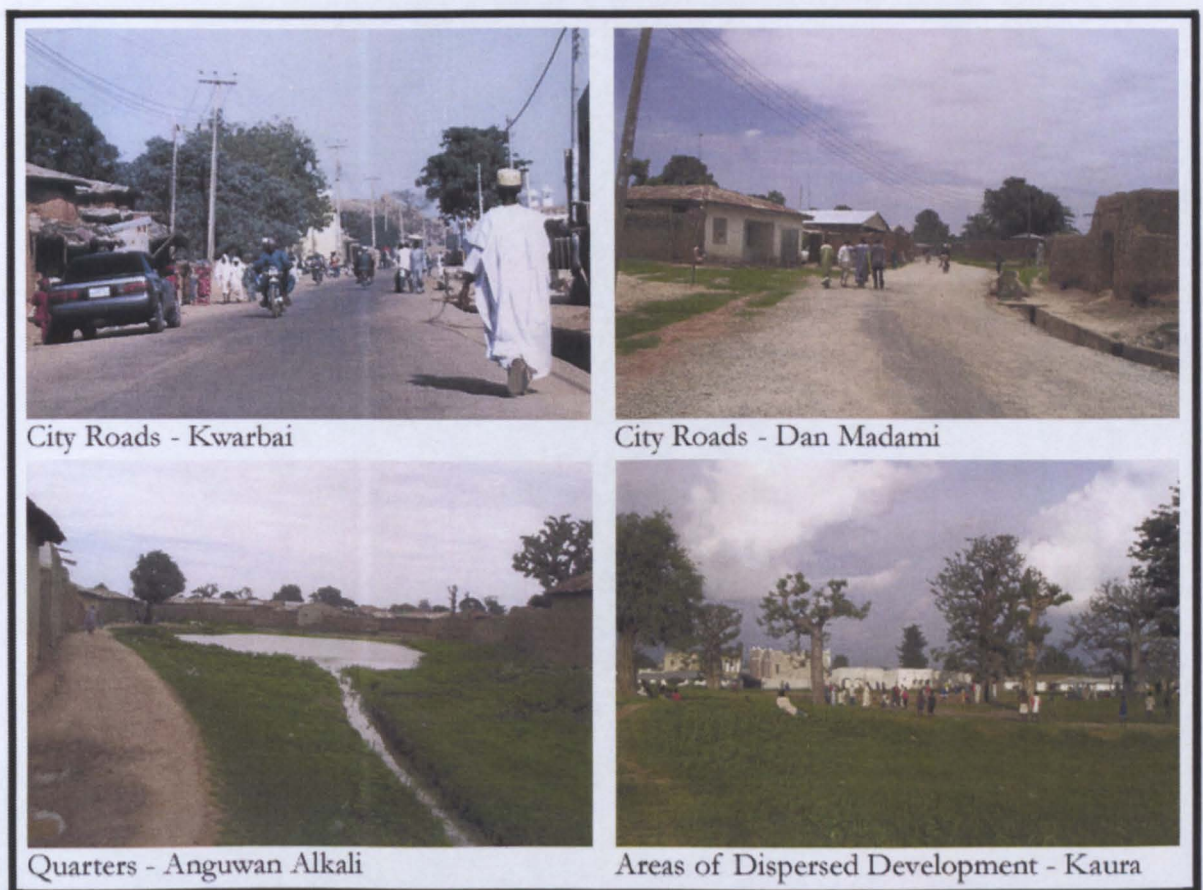


Figure 5-20: Sample of pleasant spaces in the urban fabric

noted that "The drainage from compounds, including domestic waste and latrine run-off, concentrates in ditches running besides the roads and path-ways, eventually finding its way to low-lying lands, either within or outside the city walls". He goes on to point out that "gullyng, putrid smells, and unsanitary conditions prevail in much of the city" (Urquhart, 1977, p.23).

Examination of the current fabric of the city also indicates that there are a lot of places with visible problems suggesting poor servicing and maintenance as can be seen from Figure 5-21. The residential areas bordering the market, and in the Kusfa and Mallam Sule wards are closely packed together without adequate drainage channels between houses. Most of the streets in these neighbourhoods have stagnant pools in their middle. Also, the city generally suffers from a chronic refuse problem which is compounded by the non degradable nature of cellophane, the main component of on-street refuse. The refuse problem is worse off in the inner parts of the quarters, where refuse problems usually translate into persistent refuse dumps which create an eye sore and also endangers public health. In the middle of the Nufawa quarter, there is a legendary dump, which is higher than its surrounding houses. In Anguwan Mallam Sule, there was also another large persistent dump near the city's only surviving traditional dye pit which was recently cleared due to community efforts. Burrow pit ponds littered all over the city have become stagnant pools and the repository of garbage. As a result, the ponds have become contributors to the amenity and visual problems of many neighbourhoods. In assessing the amenity situation of the traditional city, evidence seems to suggest a decline with time from the Jihad period to the present, with amenity problems prevailing and diminishing the attractiveness of the city. The lack of precise observations about amenity problems by visitors to the city in the Jihad period, suggest that it was not a dominant and visible issue in the Fabric. The clear reporting of the problem by Mama (1966) and Urquhart (1977) suggest that it may have increased and became prominent within that period and has sustained to the present.

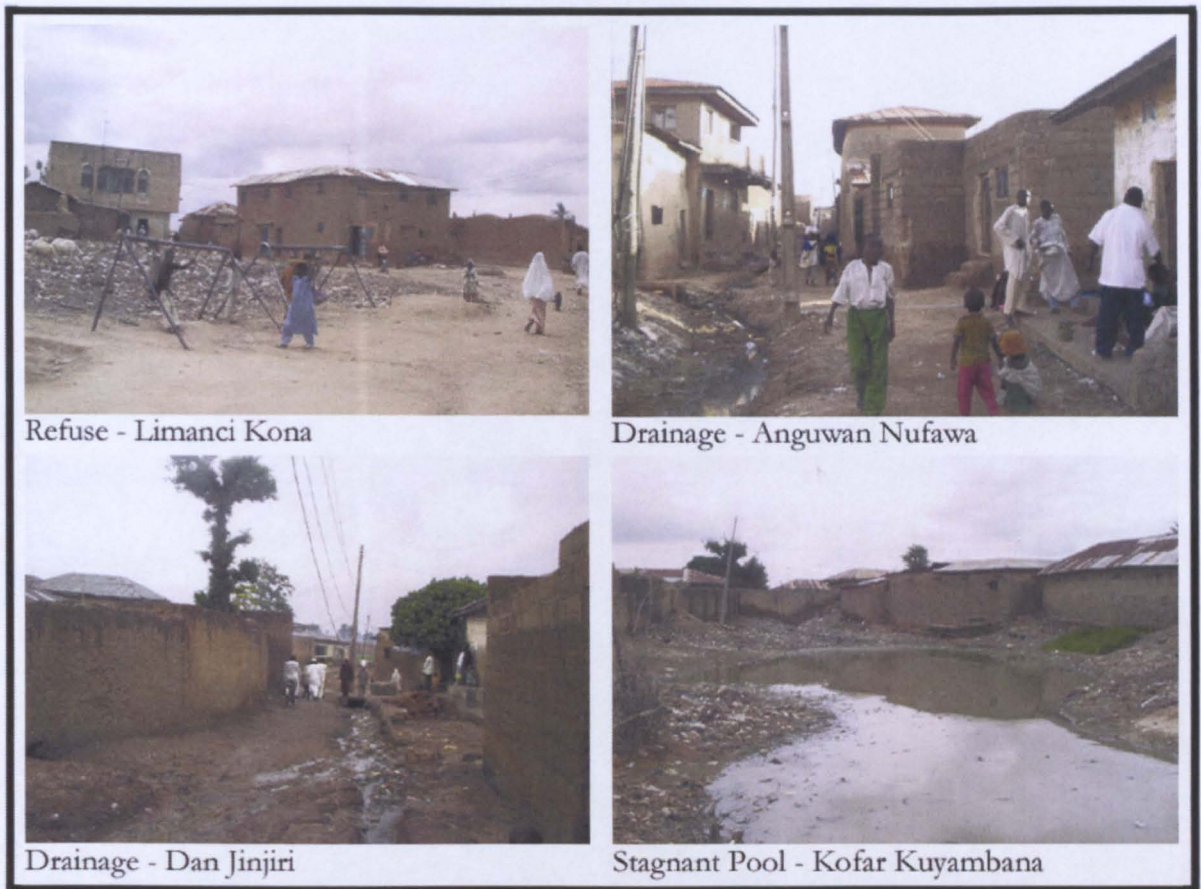


Figure 5-21: Sample of Amenity problems in the urban fabric

5.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter examines changes in the material fabric of Zaria's public space in the period between 1804 and 2004. The examination indicated that evolution and change in public space has been built on inherited forms from the Pre-Jihad period. Based on historic forms, public space has changed and evolved gradually over time, with change manifesting in diverse ways in the different aspects of material space. The changes could generally be categorized into two based on the degree of linkage to and continuity with historic forms; changes resulting in the evolution of forms with substantial linkage to past forms, and changes leading to forms that break the link with past practices. Changes resulting in forms with substantial linkage to historic forms can be found in the analytical elements of space types, morphological structure and organization, ownership of public places, servicing and management, and the process of house production and its associated public space. Space types have, for example, evolved very slowly with pre-Jihad types gradually modified through additions, subtractions, modification of practices and the strengthening of particular places to their current forms. Changes that are resulting in substantial change of traditional historic patterns are found in the analytical elements of morphological space

patterns, Enclosure and surface treatment, agents in space production and the process of public facilities production. Modern materials and construction technology are, for example, changing in substantial ways the visual character associated with the traditional city, just as new development forms are changing the space patterns associated with it.

Apart from changes observed in the material public space, there are also some other observations regarding the material fabric that are evident. Change generally appeared to be gradual and incremental but the rate of change was found to have become faster during the later part of the post-colonial period. The faster rate of change has resulted in significant expansion within the walled space of the city and in significant reorganization of built fabric and public spaces in terms of height and density of development, and general development form and visual character. The changes appear to be gradually eroding the visual unity and unique architectural and urban character which has served as the main attraction of the material fabric. Change is also happening in the absence of any initiative, either presently or in the past, to effectively manage the process and upgrade and improve the condition of the city's urban environment and public space. The problems visible in the urban area reflect the poor state of the management of development and change in the city.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL LIFE IN PUBLIC SPACES

“Public urban space is... open to the general public. This space is characterized by the possibility of allowing different groups of people regardless of their class, ethnicity, gender and age to intermingle” (Madanipour 1996, p.144-5).

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines change in Zaria's public space between 1804 and 2004 AD from a social perspective. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines the social character of public space in terms of the people in space and the access and diversity implication of social patterns. The second section examines social activities in Zaria's public space and the evolution of activities over time. The last section examines typical daily biography in terms the distribution of people and activities in the various public spaces of the city, and also instances when typical patterns are subject to significant changes.

6.1 The Social Character of Public Space

This section examines social character in terms of ethnic, gender, age and social class presence in public spaces across the three periods of Zaria's history.

6.1.1 People in Public Place

The pattern of social presence in Zaria's public space has evolved gradually, resulting in both change and the retention of some character from the past. Structures inherited from the pre-Jihad period provided the basis for social character evolution in the Jihad period. The pre-Jihad character had the greatest population concentration and diversity around the market area, with the population consisting of city residents and traders, as well as transient traders and house slaves. The city residents were principally Hausa. The Jihad period saw a significant transformation and evolution of social character, which became stable during the colonial period and endured up to the early part of the post-colonial period. This section examines colonial and early post-colonial periods together because of the stability of forms in the two periods. The social character of the current city is treated differently because of the availability of fieldwork data, which enabled a deeper analysis.

6.1.1.1 People in Public Space of the Jihad Period

The Jihad of 1804 introduced a fundamental change in the social character of Zaria and its urban space that continued for most of the nineteenth century. This change was witnessed in the increasing diversity of people in the city and its public space. Diversity was displayed in the form of Ethnic affiliation and place of origin. Diverse ethnic groups that were represented in city spaces include the Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Tuaregs, Berbers, Arabs, Kambari, Agalewa, Toronkawa, Gwari and other southern minority tribes that were house slaves in the city (Clapperton (1828, p.159; Staudinger, 1889b, p.51; Denyer, 1978, p.34; Lovejoy 1980, p.83). The Hausa and Fulani constituted the dominant group, with others having a significant and visible presence. The people were from diverse locations and places of origin around the West African region. The Fulani in the city were found, for example, to have come from as far as Futa Bonda and Futa Toro located around the coastal regions of present day Senegal (Clapperton 1828, p.159). The diversity in the city fabric was enhanced by the continuous inflow of traders, caravans and the expansion of slavery that occurred over the course of the century (Denyer, 1978, p.34, Smith, 1960). The diversity in the city's population was reflected spatially in the city fabric in the form of ward and quarter organization along occupational, place of origin, and ethnic lines (Denyer, 1978, p.34), serving as a further testimony of the significant presence of groups, such as the Nupawa, in the city.

Towards the later part of the Jihad period, assimilation appears to have blunted differences leading to cultural homogenization, as a result of inter-marriage and assimilation resulting from the adoption of Hausa culture. Staudinger (1889a, p.183-4) presented the case of the Arab resident of Zaria, Masul, who was married to a Hausa and Yoruba wife as an example of the nature of inter-marriages in the city. Commenting on the trend toward assimilation, Staudinger (1889a, p.183-4) observes that "larger as well as smaller ethnic groups are disintegrating and will disappear in the amalgam before the explorer will be able to obtain exact information about them." Commenting on Fulani assimilation and adoption of Hausa culture in Zaria, Staudinger (1889a, p.183-4) observed that "...pure Fulbe are met only among the milk and butter sellers and the herdsmen who are visiting here." Those Fulani "amongst the courtiers and trades people are already so mixed by intermarriage with the Hausa and by the adoption of Hausa customs that it is hardly possible to discover in them any of the peculiarities of their race" (Staudinger 1889a, p.183-4). Staudinger (1889b, p.44) also goes ahead to point out that "Nowadays Zaria certainly appears to be a typical Hausa

town: most of the inhabitants believe themselves to be pure Hausa, though most of them have quite probably a considerable proportion of Fulbe blood" and He also expressed surprise at the fast rate of assimilation compared to the time of the visit of Clapperton, when the city was inhabited nearly exclusively by the conquering Fulani. When the observations are taken together, they point to a trend of declining diversity towards the end of the Jihad period.

From a gender perspective, the public space of the Jihad period appeared to principally be a domain for the male gender and male biased activities but with a significant presence of the female gender participating in a limited set of activities. Males engaged in different types of activities outside the private house, and were found in all the public spaces of the city, but in greater number in the most active areas of functional activities including the market and commercial areas surrounding it, and in areas of craft production. The representation of men was without regards to age, as all age groups appeared to be involved in social and functional activities in public space. Male participation appeared to have evolved stratified along class lines, with royal and higher social class persons participating in a limited fashion, particularly towards the later part of the Jihad period. Clapperton (1828) reported the visit of the Emir of Zaria to his place of accommodation without any indication of fanfare, suggesting that it was a normal occurrence. Imam Imoru, in describing the routines of the Emirs of the Caliphate states, notes that "A great king does not walk about and he does not go to anybody's House" (Ferguson 1973, p.212). This is supported by current customary practices, whereby people of royal or higher status do not under ordinary circumstance participate in mundane everyday activities in public places. Staudinger (1889b, p.59 & 201) also made observations pointing to the distinctiveness of higher status persons in the fabric of the city by their costumes and also suggest that they are usually busy as parasites in the king's court or live attended to by clients who mediate their interaction with the social life of the city, all pointing to their limited participation in public space.

Evidence from around Zaria indicates that women do have a significant presence in public space and do engage in a limited set of public activities. Baba of Karo reports of public *bori* dancing in both Zarewa and Giwa, of women participating in the ritual *Bori* cleansing of the site for new Giwa town, of slave women engaging in functional activities, and of girls engaging in the hawking of different types of goods (Smith, 1954, p.68 & 189).

Staudinger (1889a, p.156) in documenting observations in a transit village on the way to Zaria reports of "music and sounds of hilarity as the women and girls of the village often spent half the night dancing and singing", suggesting the active participation of the female gender in social activities. The evidence from around Zaria coupled with reports on practices in the city supports the view that the female gender was represented in Zaria's public space during the Jihad period. This position is supported by the observation of Staudinger that "The woman in Hausa land...enjoys a great amount of freedom and has her right. With few exceptions ... women may leave the house freely and unveiled during the day in order to pay visits or to carry on their business (Staudinger 1889b, p.63). Staudinger (1889b, p.111) also reports of many women among the small market and itinerant traders, acting as middle men and also selling prepared dishes. Staudinger (1889b, p171 & 229) also gives elaborate descriptions of female characteristics, including their build, strength in respect of a slave, amiability, attitudes, dressing and adornment, suggesting a level of intercourse that could only happen in public spaces and so support a view of their significant representation.

Though females were adequately represented in public space, it appeared that their participation in activities was limited. Examination of reports reviewed in respect of presence in public space above suggests that their activities were limited to functional activities, mainly trading of prepared food, entertainment and transit activities. Female participation in public space of the Jihad period was also not universally the same across the whole gender spectrum. Rather, participation was stratified along age and social status lines. Children and young girls appeared to have the greatest degree of freedom. They go out and participated in activities without any form of obstacle or surveillance (Staudinger, 1889b, p.62). Adult females have the least presence in public space, and are usually restricted to residential quarters. Among women, slaves, independent women, women from poor households and concubines had the greater degree of freedom to go out and be in public spaces, while others are in most cases limited to the private domain of the house (Smith, 1960; Staudinger, 1889b, p171). These others, which include the wives and daughters of kings and other nobles and high status individuals, are allowed to go out under guard, veiled or only after dark (Staudinger 1889b, p.63).

6.1.1.2 People in the Public Space of the Colonial and Early Post-Colonial Periods

Available evidence seem to support observations of significant change in the case of ethnicity, and some change in female access in the pattern of the social character of Zaria's public space between the late Jihad and early post-Colonial periods. Evidence seems to suggest that patterns of age presence and participation remained fairly consistent within the period. Smith (1955, p.12-3) commenting on the female gender in the late colonial period notes that "In community social structure women, as a group, play no part, and have no place except that which kinship or marriage gives them, or that which they enter by repudiation of marriage and kinship when they become prostitutes," suggesting a tightening of social rules regarding female roles. Coles and Mack (1991, p.9) have indicated a trend of increased seclusion for middle-class women, wives of merchants, traders and craftsmen as a result of the desire to increase male prestige, which may also be applicable to Zaria. Bergstrom (2002, p.7) also notes that a consequence of the end of slavery was that slaves who became freed women became concubines or wives in polygamous marriages and opted for seclusion as a mark of free status thus reducing the presence and participation of women in public activities. There are also indications that the sharpness and visibility of patterns relating to age and gender patterns in social character may ultimately have declined during the early part of the post colonial period due to the tremendous decline in the population of the traditional city. The decline in population would have dispersed the population over the built fabric and reduced the visibility of patterns.

The most noticeable change in the social character of Zaria's public space during the Colonial and early- Post colonial period occurred in the form of decline in diversity. The trend of assimilation happening in the late Jihad period pointed out by Staudinger (1889a, p.44; 1889b, p.183-4) appeared to have continued well into the Colonial and post-colonial periods. Combined with a reduction in the population of the city and limited immigration, the trend appeared to have led to a homogenization of cultural identity and the loss of visible diversity in the public spaces of the city. This position is buttressed by the observation of Smith (1955, p.2) in respect of the Fulani, that "they have lost most of their independent culture, all their language but the greetings, most of their cattle and through intermarriage and concubinage, some of the Fulani physical traits..." Smith (1955, p. 3) also notes that a large percentage of Zaria's population is derived from the Gwari and other pagan groups, who formed the slave reservoir, from which the emirate drew slaves. He

goes on to point out that these have been converted to Islam and Hausa culture, hence becoming assimilated.

6.1.1.3 People in Contemporary Public Space

6.1.1.3.1 Ethnicity Patterns

Analysis of the ethnic social character of contemporary public space from fieldwork data shows a public space that is predominantly Hausa in cultural character.⁷³ Analysis of the fieldwork data shows that in 65% of the forty-three surveyed public places, ethnic composition was perceived as 100% Hausas. About 80% of the spaces were perceived to be about 90% Hausa in composition. Only in about 7% of the spaces was a significant representation of other ethnic groups of up to 30% found. The “others” represented in Zaria’s public space are from the dominant Nigerian tribes of Yoruba and Ibo, and from a small collection of other minority ethnic groups. Further analysis indicates that the most ethnically diverse public spaces are the principal gates, including Kofar Kuyambana, Doka, Gayan and Kibo, major city arterials and some prominent markets. Places with the least ethnic diversity are the less prominent gates and city roads, distributor and neighbourhood roads, residential community spaces, recreation and play areas and, district and quarter markets and commercial areas. These usually have an ethnic diversity of less than 10%.⁷⁴ The result from the analysis of ethnic diversity from the fieldwork data appears amenable to certain inferences. The first is a suggestion that the city is overwhelmingly composed of people who identify with the Hausa culture. This observation is supported by previous works such as that of Ebuga (1984:44) and is consistent with trends of assimilation reported earlier. Secondly, the traditional city, from all indications, has a very low level of ethnic diversity, in terms of groups who are non Hausas. Third, the highest level of ethnic diversity in the city is witnessed at the most active places, which are usually places of movement or functional activity. The least level of ethnic diversity is found in the internal fabric of the city, in distributor roads, residential quarters, in entertainment and play areas and around less prominent gates. Finally, it appears that most of the “others” represented in the public spaces of the traditional city appear to be non-resident day time visitors.

6.1.1.3.2 Gender Patterns

The examination of gender character focuses mainly on examining the presence of women in public space in view of the dominance of males in the arena. Patterns in the presence of females in public space vary across the different public places. At the four city gates

observed as part of the fieldwork, presence appears to be correlated with commercial activities and function as a transportation hub. Estimates of the presence of females vary from 10% at the Kibo and Gayan gates to 30% at Kofar Kuyambana, which is both a hub of transportation as well as an established centre of commercial activity. City major roads can be divided into three based on estimation of the intensity of female presence: the first set consisting of arterials including Kofar Doka to Babban Dodo road and the Kofar Kuyambana through the market to Babban Dodo road have a female presence of between 10 and 20 percent; Amaru road which originates from the Kona gate and ends at the Dandali has a female presence of around 10 to 15 percent; with the remaining major roads having less than 5% female presences. Further examination tends to indicate that presence is correlated with the centrality of as well as with the commercial activities on an arterial.

There is no clear pattern in the presence of women on other city roads and community spaces; some spaces were found to have a high estimate of the presence of females of up to 45%, while in some estimate of their presence was low, in some places below 5%. High levels of female presence appears to occur at nodal points or significant places such as schools, neighbourhood gathering points, markets and points of commerce concentration. Recreation places have very low female presence of less than 5% and these are mostly young girls hawking goods to sport audiences. The presence of women in the dandali declines from 30 percent at Babban Dodo roundabout to zero as you approach the main Friday mosque. In entertainment spaces, only a small number of women involved in marketing food or snacks were found. Females do not generally attend entertainment functions such as the cinema, as it would lead to social stigmatization of being characterized as 'wayward'.⁷⁵ Markets are among the spaces with the highest presence of women. The central market has a presence of about 35%, while the Marmara market, a small commercial area in Juma ward, had a female presence of about 45%.

Based on the analysis of available data, it is possible to make some generalizations regarding the presence of females in the public space of contemporary Zaria. Examination of female presence leads to the conclusion that it is high at central places, where circulation and transportation coincides with population gathering and commerce. These places include the gates, the main city roads and markets. Female representation is made up of three categories: younger children and teens hawking or playing; adults and older women

engaged in commerce; and a transient population of married or teenage girls usually moving from place to place either to visit or for other purposes.

6.1.1.3.3 Age Patterns

Differentiation based on age is evident both in the organization of people in public places, and also in participation in various activities. Activities in almost all spaces are usually segregated according to age. In line with customary cultural practices, age character is considered by age groups with the population loosely divided into three groups; children below 14 years (*Yara*), Teenagers, who are between 15 to 24 years (*Samari*) and Adults, aged above 24 (*Manya*). The various age groups are found to varying degrees in the public places of the city. The Dandali and Markets are spaces where all age groups are found. Adults dominate in the Dandali, but have an equal population with teens and children combined in markets. This is accounted for by the participation of children and teens in marketing and street vending. City gates are mainly populated by adults and teenagers, even though a significant presence of children is also found in some of the gates. Adults and teenagers form the bulk of the population on major city roads, with the population of adults more than that of teenagers by a factor of 3 to 2. Children are also present on the major roads, with their representation varying significantly by location. In some places, they constitute as much as 50% of the actors, while in others they constitute less than 10%. Entertainment spaces cater mainly to adults and teenagers and have a low presence of children. Recreation spaces on the other hand cater mainly to teenagers and children, with adult presence being very low. The highest level of children presence is found in quarter roads and spaces. In about a third of all surveyed places within quarters, children representation was found to be above 50% and, 70% of spaces had representation that is above 30%. Teenagers and adults are also represented in the quarter spaces, with teenage presence being more than that of adults, with presence of about 15 to 40% in most spaces. The high incidence of children and teenager representation in these spaces may be either a reflection of the demographic structures of the society or a factor of the fact that most of the data was collected in the day time when adults were engaged in functional activities.

6.1.1.3.4 Class Patterns

From the fieldwork data and observation reports, it has been difficult to develop a clear picture of how the rigid differentiation in the social structures of society is evident and played out in public space. Differentiation, as discussed earlier, was observed based on age

and gender divides. Along social class lines, it has not been possible to come up with any noticeable defined pattern of differentiation. The lack of evident explicit differentiation in public space may stem from the customary lack of participation by persons of royal status or higher ranks in the everyday social activities in city spaces. They rather seem to be in attendance only at significant events and ceremonies, which limits their visibility in public spaces because of the infrequent nature of these events and their limited duration. This view is reinforced by the fact that at events or ceremonies, when almost all the social classes of society are present, differentiation becomes very visible. During such occasions, people become differentiated based on royalty status, traditional title holding, wealth, age and, employment status. Differentiation in such circumstances is reinforced by the presence of eulogist engaged in praise singing.

6.1.2 Patterns of Access and Diversity in Public Space

A general examination of social character in the periods of the study leads to some generalization regarding access and diversity in Zaria's public space. With regards to access across gender and age groups, the general observation points to a stable pattern of access for males across all age groups. Access in this case is both to spaces and activities, with public space being more or less a male domain. Females of all age groups have restricted access to public space. The nature of this restriction varies across age group and social status. Children generally have freer access and greater freedoms than adult women. Higher social status women have higher restrictions than lower status women. Restrictions also applies to the nature of activities that they can participate in, with the most common being transit and commerce. With regards to diversity, trends point to a substantial decline in ethnic diversity resulting from a trend of cultural assimilation and lack of significant immigration to the traditional city. The lack of immigration means people of other ethnic nationalities are not settling in the city and those from the broader metropolitan area only go to the city for specific purposes and do not generally live within the traditional city. Diversity from a class perspective has evolved to be mostly visible in public space during public events and occasions, when the sharp status distinctions that differentiates the city population across royalty, title holding, wealth and employment status becomes visible.

6.2 Activities in Public Space

This section examined the types of activities in Zaria's public space with a focus on the contemporary city. The section thereafter examines patterns in the evolution of social activities in public space across the three periods of Jihad, Colonial and post-Colonial.

6.2.1 Types of Activities in Zaria's Public Space

The activities of people in the public space of contemporary Zaria can essentially be classified into six classes; movement and transportation, functional activities, religious and symbolic cultural activities, social activities and interaction, political activities, and recreation and entertainment. This section briefly examines each class of activity.

6.2.1.1 Movement and Transportation

Movement between different places and activities is a significant part of people's daily routine. Movement takes place between places in the city and between the city and the broader metropolitan area. The current common modes of transportation include pedestrian, bicycle, motor cycle, cars, buses, donkeys and carts (Figure 6-1). Commercial

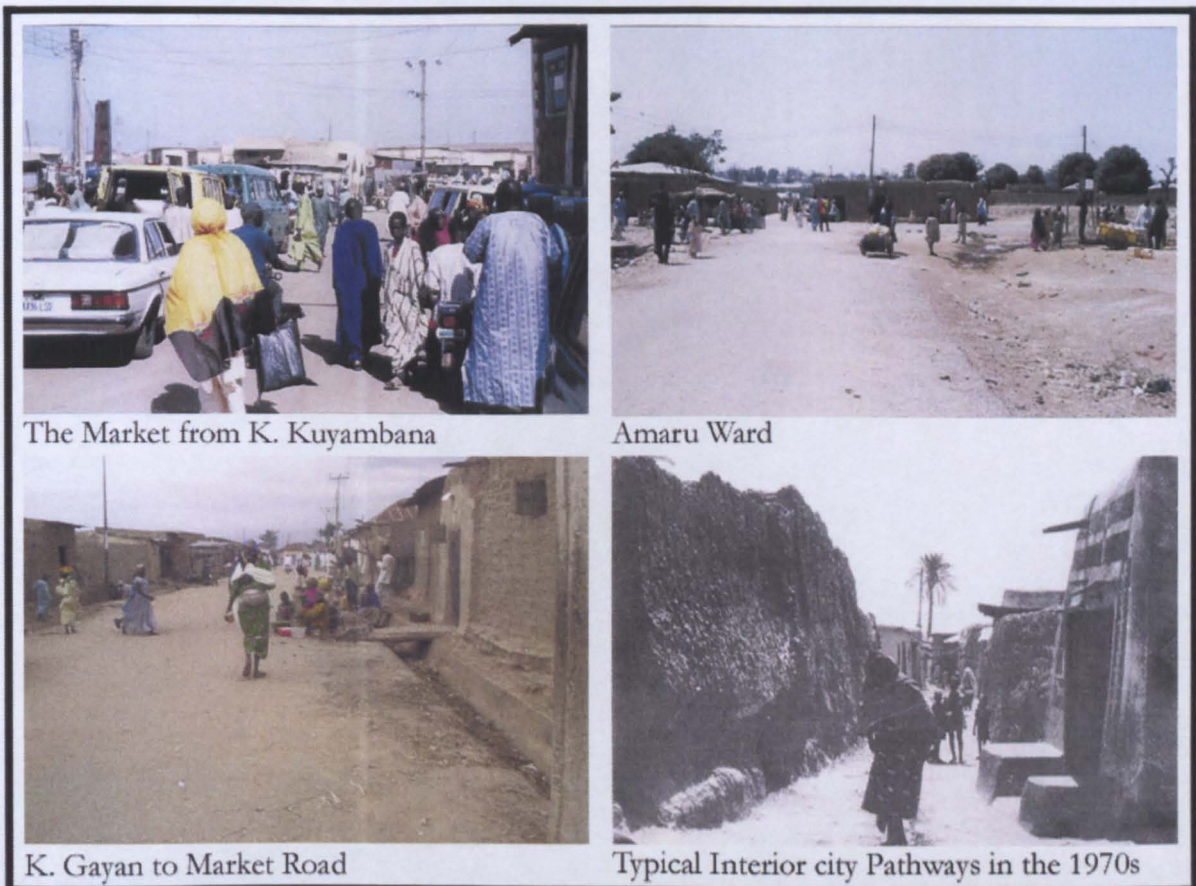


Figure 6-1: People and movement activities in Zaria's fabric

transportation is by buses and motor cycle. Buses principally ferry people from the traditional city to other districts or places along two principal routes- one starts from Gwargwaje located outside to the south of the city, through kofar kyambana to the main market and the second starts from Sabon Gari through Tudun Wada, all located to the northern side of the city through Kofar Doka and Babban dodo to the Central market. The central market along with the two gates of Kofar Doka and Kuyambana and Babban dodo are the most significant commercial transportation hubs in city. Motor cycles have recently evolved as another pervasive means of internal transportation within the city. The main hubs for motor cycle transportation are the city market, the Babban Dodo round about and major city roads and arterials. Pedestrians, cyclist, donkeys and horses complement motorized transportation in the traditional city.

6.2.1.2 Functional Activities

The traditional city has always been a place for all types of income earning functional activities (Figure 6-2). Examination of the contemporary city shows the predominance of

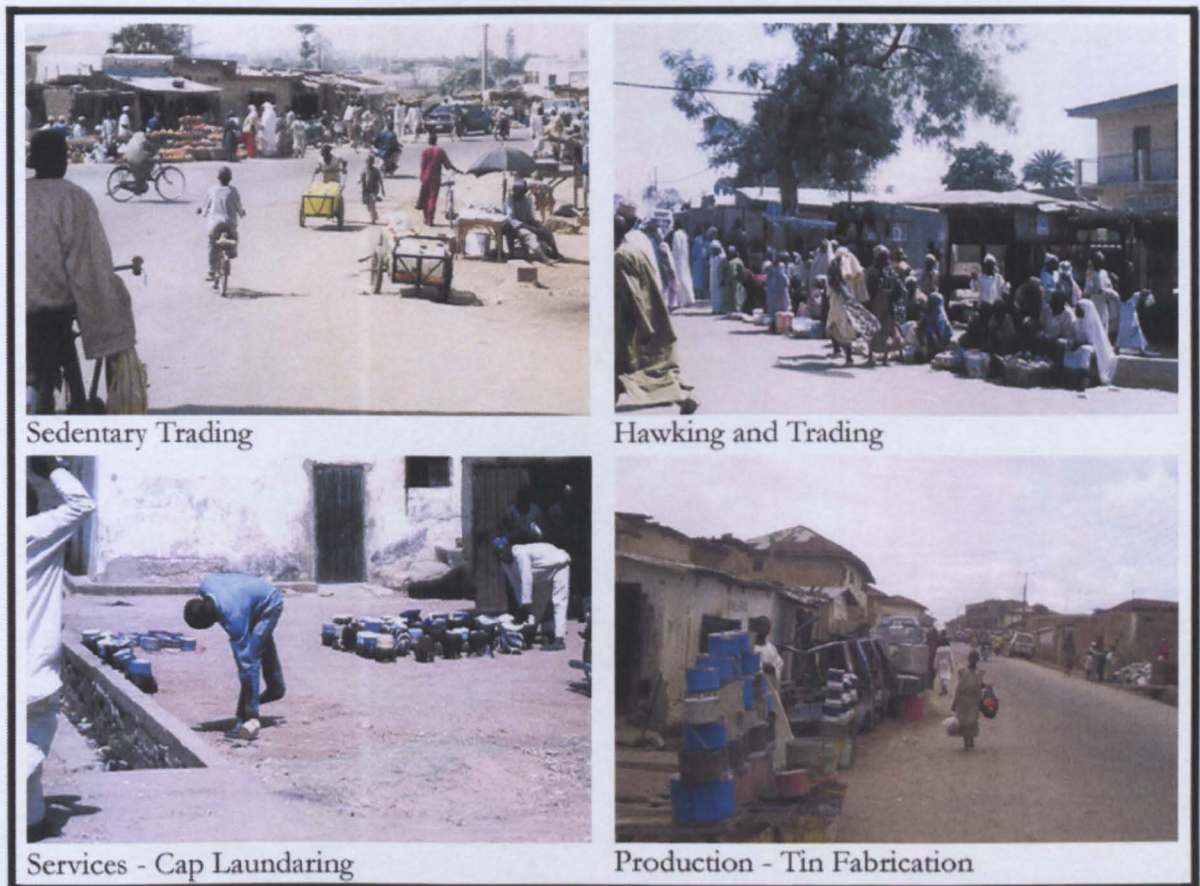


Figure 6-2: Functional activities in public space

four types of functional activities; commerce and trading, hawking, services provision, and small scale fabrication and production. The activities provide employment and income for a significant proportion of the traditional city's population. Commerce and trading from a fixed location is among the most pervasive activities in public space. The analysis of fieldwork data pointed to the incidence of commerce and trading in 74% of observed spaces, with the activity being dominant in 28% of spaces. The activity is concentrated at the markets, Major city gates of Kofar Doka, Kuyambana and Gayan, on main city arterials and major distributors, and generally in places of population aggregation such as the Babban Dodo and Stadium area. A certain level of commercial trading was, however, noticed in almost all space types and across the whole city. Activities are usually located in private shops, usually with ware display and buying and selling spilling onto the street, in kiosk and temporary stalls, and openly on the streets. Closely allied with sedentary trading is hawking by mobile traders. Hawkers were found in 12% of observed spaces, but their incidence appears more if photographic documentation is taken into consideration. The activity is usually concentrated in areas of population concentration such as near markets, at transportation hubs and on city arterials, at places of social or cultural activities, play and recreation. Hawking is predominantly carried out by children and teenagers. Goods usually consist of snacks and light foods, cultural delicacies, drinks, and everyday goods such as tools and medicines - both traditional and modern.

Public space is also the location for the provision of different types of services. From fieldwork data, services provision was noticed in 25% of observed spaces. Services provision could be classified into two groups: services provided from a sedentary location, either in a private space but with the services spilling into public space or completely in public spaces; and services provided by mobile providers, who move about the city in search of clients. Services of the first kind includes vehicle, motorcycle and bicycle, and watch repair. Services of the second kind include shoeshine, barbing, manicure and custom repairs. Service provision in public space is usually carried out as a secondary activity subordinated to other more dominant activities. Services provision could be found on major roads, activity hubs such as the Dandali and Babban Dodo junction, markets and government offices. Also scattered throughout the fabric of the city and in many cases spilling into or completely located in public space are many small scale fabrication and production activities. The most common activities are metal works and fabrication, carpentry and woodwork, garment production, embroidery work and meat processing. The

production activities are found at different places in public space depending on the activity and its location requirement.⁷⁶

6.2.1.3 Religious and Symbolic Cultural Activities

Religion permeates almost all the routines and activities of the people of the traditional city. Explicit religious activities include the Muslim prayers (the five daily prayers, the Friday and the two Eid prayers), activities related to the Ramadan fasting, and Islamic instruction and religious preaching. The five daily prayers along with the Friday and Eid prayers, Eid Al-Fitr (*Karamar Sallah*, transl: small sallah) and Eid Al-Adha or Kabeer (*Babban Sallah*, Transl: big sallah), served as temporal markers in the routine of the traditional city. The month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar calendar, is also a month of fasting. Fasting is usually accompanied by activities and changes in routines in public space. Zaria is also a centre for religious instruction. People come from all over the Northern part of the country to acquire religious education (Figure 6-3). The instruction usually takes place in the Entrance halls of houses and also on the side of public thoroughfares, where the students could be found segregated by gender and level of

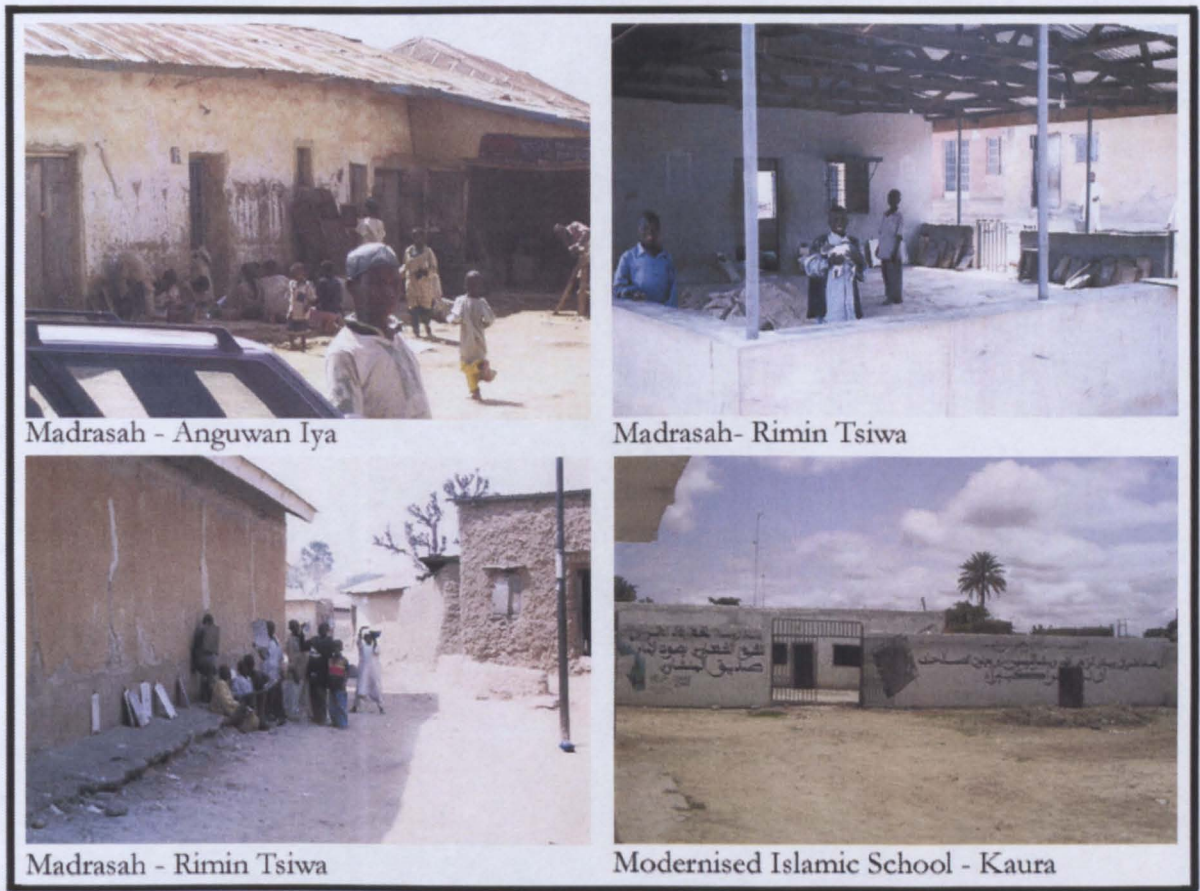


Figure 6-3: Religious activities in the city fabric

instruction reading the Quran either in book form on wooden slates, sometimes loudly and in unison, creating a background sound effects to the streets. Preaching is also carried out in public space. These preaching activities may be scheduled, unscheduled or regular preaching. The preaching activities are usually situated in Mosques, but also spill out onto the streets. They also usually have a visible street presence because of the use of loudspeakers. Some of the activities noticed in public space are of a purely symbolic cultural nature, without religious association. Principal among these activities are the Eid celebrations, Ramadan festivities (*Tashe*), Turbanning and special durbar activities. The Eid prayers are usually followed by celebrations that could last up to a week. Three durbars; Hawan Sallah, Daushe, and Bariki (Gwamna), that include a show of horse mastery, entertainment, drumming and social interactions takes place on the first three days after each Eid. Turbanning ceremonies to confer traditional titles on individuals are occasionally held at the Dandali.⁷⁷ This is usually a day time ceremony and the level of pageantry displayed is dependent on who is being crowned and into what office. Special durbars may also be held on the rare occasions of the visit of dignitaries to the city.

6.2.1.4 Social Activities and Interactions

Most social activities in contemporary Zaria are either held in or spill into public space. Principal among such activities are Marriages, Naming Ceremonies, Death consolation, and Social interaction and Discussions (*Hira*). Marriage takes place over the period of a number of days which vary from 3 days to one week. There are wide differences in the form of current marriage practices and social status to a large extent determines the elaborateness of activities. Marriages would usually involve feasting activities for days in locations separated by gender for the groom and bride. The actual marriage takes place in a public ceremony, usually in the late morning or afternoon period, in the bride's house (Figure 6-4). Activities that follow may include a reception, a mini durbar for higher status persons, or an *ajo* (an open musical performance, where money is solicited through eulogy and music for the new family). Naming ceremonies have a lower and declining level of visibility in public space. They are performed on the seventh day after the birth of the baby in the mosque, usually after the early Morning Prayer. There are currently no public ceremonies associated with the event. Rather women gather themselves and celebrate in the private domain of the house. Death consolation is virtually a public affair in Hausa society. Once a family is bereaved, they are

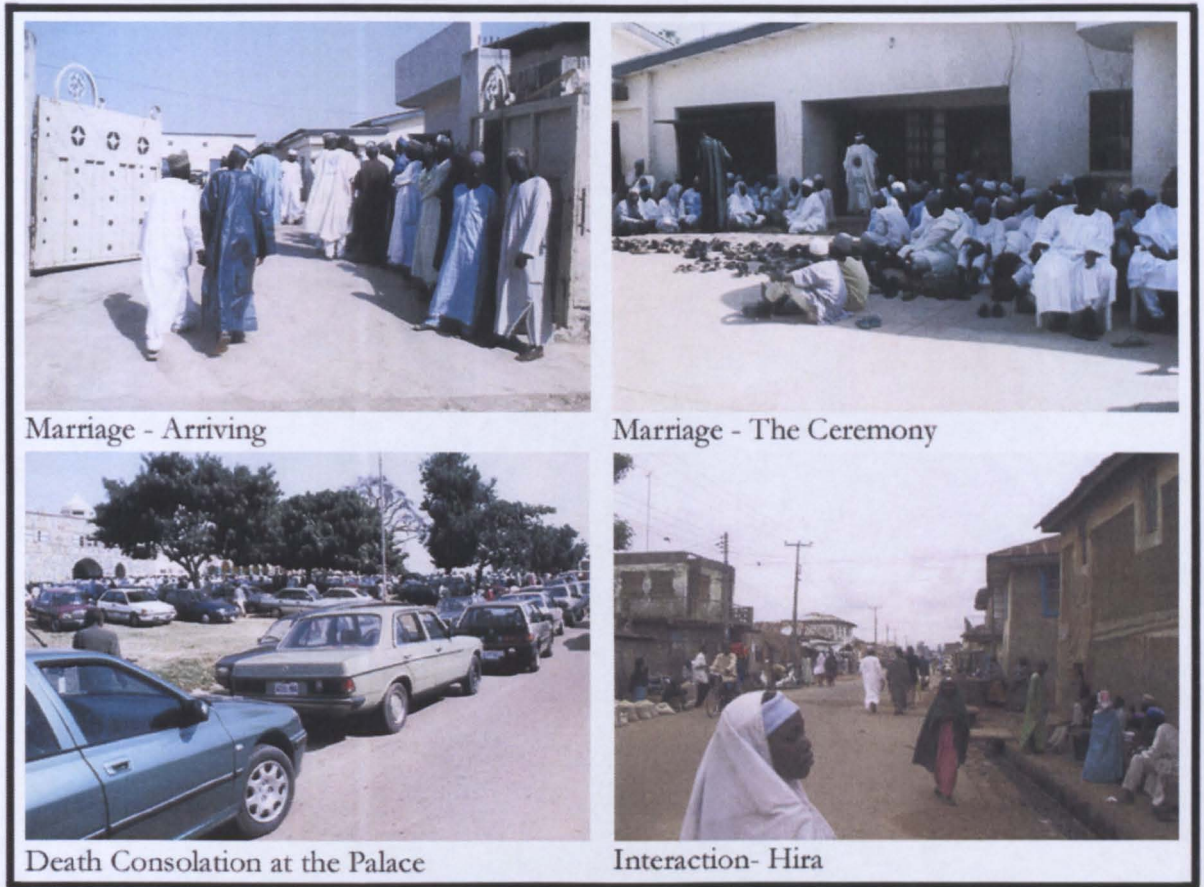


Figure 6-4: Social activities in public space

obliged to receive consolation for three days. Practices vary, but the most common practice is that the “*Zaure*” (entrance hall) or front of the house would be cleaned and mats spread for people. The male members of the household sit on the mats and receive consolation. The research team offered consolations on two occasions in the course of the field work, even though none of the team members was familiar with the families or with the deceased persons. People were also observed on several occasions in the course of the fieldwork receiving consolation for bereavement.

Social interaction and discussion is probably the most prevalent activity in public space.⁷⁸ The activity is manifested in people sitting in a relaxed mode, and engaging in interaction and discussion. While it was not within the scope of the research to examine the specific issues of discussion or the dynamics of interaction, four topics were, however, identified as dominant in the discussions. These, in no specific order, are politics, religion, social problems and personal problems. The activity also appears to provide an important means for socialization; enabling the sharing and evaluation of news, facilitating the criticisms of events and the sharing beliefs and practices, all part of the socialization process of society.

6.2.1.5 Political Activities

Public space is also the context for politics and mass action in the traditional city. Three types of political expressions are visible in public space: political rallies, political advertisement and mass demonstrations. No political rally or mass action was physically witnessed, though, throughout the period of the fieldwork. Interviews with others, however, indicate public space as the context for such political activities during electioneering seasons. Political activities usually include rallies with large crowds, motorcades, and the use of loud speakers. Politics is visible in the form of advertisement on walls of private houses and on political party offices (Figure 6-5). These advertisements which are usually large and prominent are either for a party or for a particular individual. Politics is also manifested as the subject of many of the discussions taking place in public space. Such discussions usually centre on the examination of people seeking office or of the performance of office holders, or complaints about the negligence, particularly by the local government, in providing needed services and opportunities. Feelings about the issue are so inflamed that the research team was occasionally subjected to hostilities in the

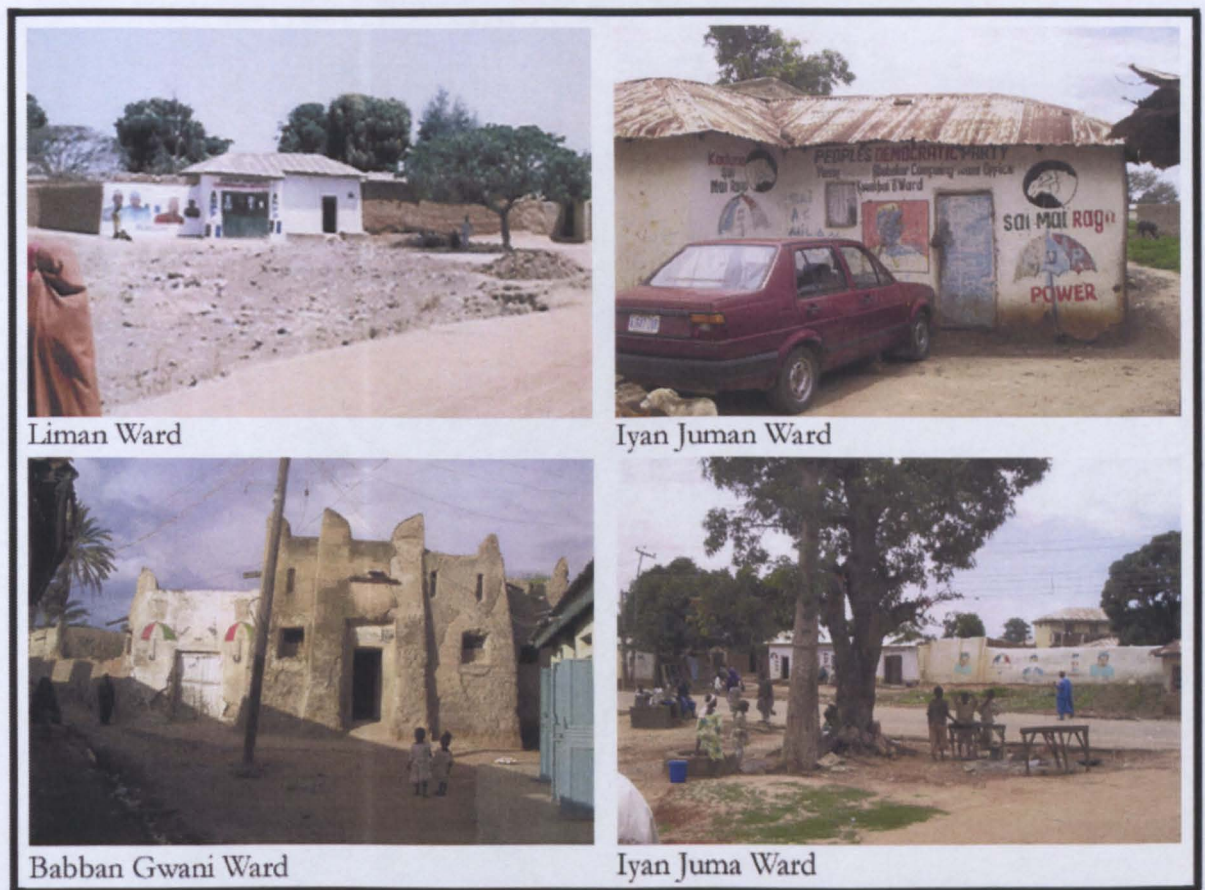


Figure 6-5: Politics in the city fabric

process of the field work because of a perception of the association of the research with government. Public Space is also the focal point for mass action and demonstrations in the city. Most demonstrations and riots in the traditional city are usually focused on the Dandali and also on the stretch of road between Babban Dodo and Kofar Doka. Economic, religious and political issues were the most common triggers for such mass actions and demonstrations.⁷⁹

6.2.1.6 Recreation and Entertainment

Recreation and entertainment in the contemporary traditional city are integrally connected with many social and symbolic activities. Entertainment in contemporary Zaria could be classed into two; unsolicited/open entertainment (Figure 6-6) and solicited paid entertainment. The unsolicited entertainment is mostly on-street, associated with events and with transient entertainers seeking gift and patronage from people. Social events such as marriages, naming ceremonies, *turbaning* and *sallah* celebration generally attract unsolicited entertainment. The unsolicited entertainers almost always attract a ready audience, willing to listen, watch and derive pleasure. Solicited entertainment usually takes

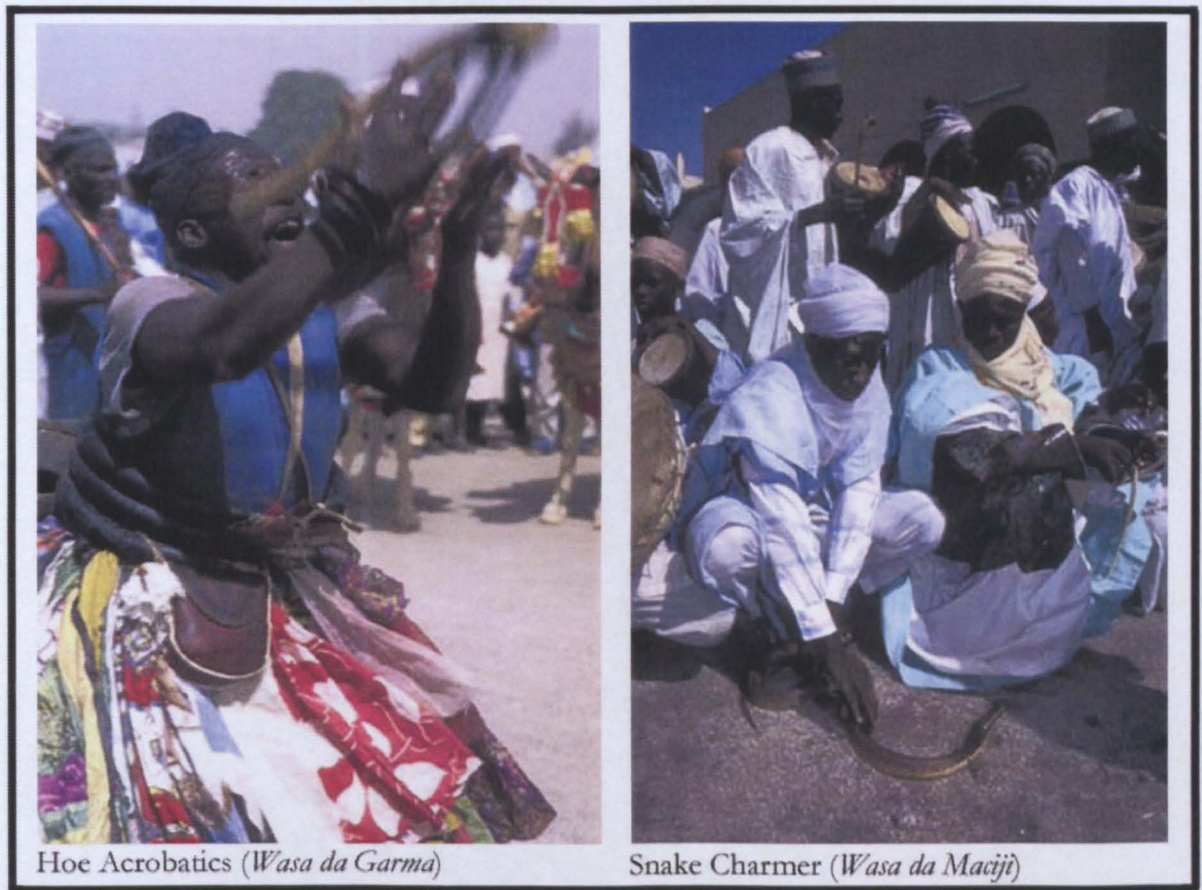


Figure-6-6: Itinerant forms of entertainment in city spaces

place in private entertainment facilities. Two categories of the facilities were identified; the cinema and Video show houses. The cinema is the principal private entertainment facility in the city. It was established in 1962 and has been showing movies since then. The most popular movies have been Indian and Chinese, though locally produced Hausa films have become popular and are now increasingly screened. The private Video show houses are a recent innovation that became widespread following the availability of cable television subscription and video films. Using antenna based cable systems, many young people setup video watching centres in their houses where young people come to watch films from movie channels, videos or live telecast of important events such as sports, cinema award ceremonies and so on. The Video centres also screen local films. These Video Centres have visibility in public space through their advertisements. These advertisements are placed in the form of posters on walls and trees in locations in the different wards of the city.

The most common recreational activity in the public space of contemporary Zaria city is sports. Five sport activities were identified in the fabric of the city from the fieldwork. These are football, snooker, basketball, volley ball and fives. Football is the most popular sports accounting for more than 95% of recreational sports in the city. The sport appears by all account to have achieved a cult status, with people playing football found in almost all nooks and corners of the city. The city has a set of formal football clubs who use some of these fields for practice and also for the inter-club league matches that are organized at various times throughout the year. Of the other sports, basketball, fives and volley ball were only found in the Alhudahua play ground. People come from all over the city to engage in these sports there. A table for snooker was found in front the Amaru market and also at the Kofar Kibo. They were both commercial ventures with people paying to play the game. These tables were located in open public space and the location has become a point of gathering for many young people in the city.

6.2.2 Evolution of Activities in Zaria's Public Space

The examination of activities in Zaria's public space shows that they have evolved and changed gradually over time. Many practices like their associated material spaces are linked or have their roots in pre-jihad forms. Major changes have occurred in the form of the adoption of new practices, modernization of some practices and the complete abandonment of others. The link between the jihad forms of public space activities and

their contemporary form is established by tracing the process of evolution of the activities in this section.

6.2.2.1 Social Activities in the Jihad Period

Five categories of activities featured in the social life of the Jihad period; movement and transportation, functional activities, religious and cultural activities, social activities and, recreation and entertainment, with the activities in some cases varying significantly in the form of practices from the contemporary period. The form of Jihad period movement activities was a reflection of the state of development of the society and was closely linked with and rooted in forms from the pre-jihad period. Movement was by foot or animal means. Animals provided the principal means of transportation within the city and between cities. The bulk of the traffic on city streets would be pedestrian with occasional animal transport and a higher concentration of animal transportation around the markets, the palace and on pathways that leads to other principal cities such as Kano through Kofar Kibo or Doka, and Keffi and Gonja (the source of the kola trade) from the market through Kofar Gayan. .

Different forms of functional income earning activities were practiced during the Jihad period, with farming and craft being the most predominant activities. Farming was an activity that was undertaken by almost all adults in the city. Farms were located both inside and outside the city, and the very rich had *Rumadas* or *Rinjis* (farm settlements managed by slaves). Craft activities were usually combined with farming, with intensity of craft

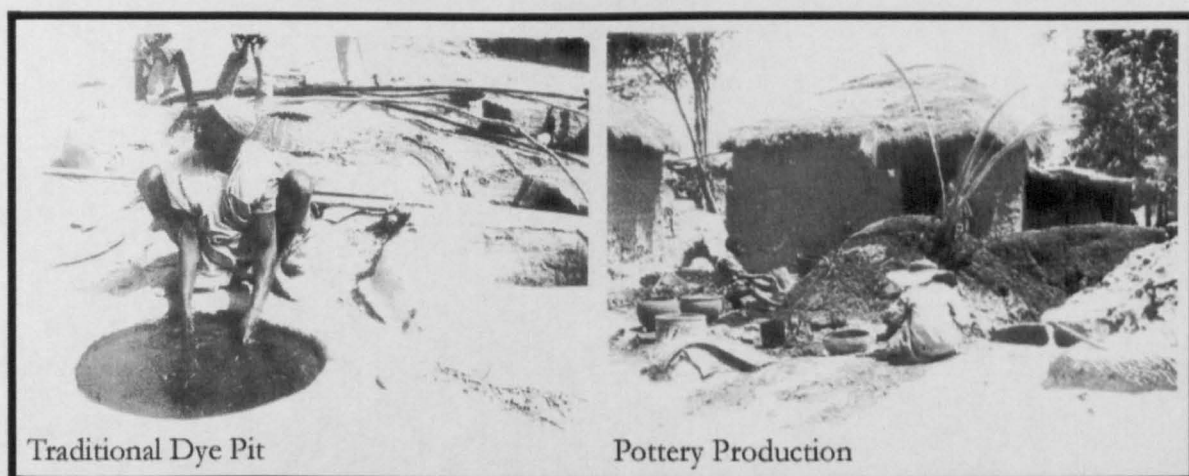


Figure 6-7: Traditional craft activities in the City Spaces

production concentrated in the dry season months. Popular craft activities that have been reported include cloth dyeing (Figure 6-7), weaving, tailoring, cotton spinning, blacksmith work, tanning, leather work, building, and pottery (Figure 6-7) (Hogben 1967, p.118; Staudinger 1889a p.183; Clapperton, 1828). Apart from farming and craft work, other functional activities practiced in Zaria in the Jihad period include petty trading, Brokerage, and itinerant service provision and Hawking. Evidence establishing such practices is available in the form of the existence of a traditional title for the leaders of such activities or report on taxes which acknowledge the existence of the activities (Hogben, 1967, p.121). It is also available from the accounts of explorers (Staudinger 1889b, p.103) who have witnessed some of the practices in the city fabric.

Two forms of religious practices and activities were inherited from the pre-jihad period; Islamic practices and traditional *bori* practices. These two practices continued throughout the jihad period and were a part of the active social and public life of the city's inhabitants. As discussed earlier, in chapter 5, evidence of bori practices can be surmised from its survival to the present and from the acknowledgement by interviewed persons of its existence during the colonial period. *bori* activities occur in specific locations associated with spirits, where people gather and adepts enter into spirit possession trance to a particular type of guitar music (called *Garaya* in Hausa). Islamic practices from all indications became entrenched and widespread during the jihad period, though it was practiced with a high degree of ignorance (Clapperton (1828, p.162). The reports of Clapperton (1828) and Staudinger (1889a &b) provided sufficient evidence to support the assertion that the five daily prayers, the Friday prayer, the two Eid prayers and the Ramadan fasting were well established as part of general religious practices during the Jihad period.

The types of customary social activities found in the Jihad period mirror those of the contemporary city, with significant difference in the form of practices. Marriages, Naming ceremonies and death consolation were social and public events. There is no evidence to support changes in the practice of death consolation between the Jihad and current period. Interaction and socializing (*hira*) is also another current activity that was widely practiced in the Jihad period. Staudinger (1889b, p.58), commenting on it observed that "the Hausa have an outstanding gift for oratory; arguments or discussions constitute one of their favourite occupations. In fact the chief urge of many negro people seems to be simply to

chatter..." Marriages and Naming ceremonies appear, however, to have had a substantially different and more standard form of practice in the Jihad period. The traditional form of naming ceremonies evolved in the Jihad period with a public and semi private components. The public ceremony took place in House entrances (*Zaure*) usually around the late morning (around 11.00 am) or late afternoon (Around 2.00pm.) period. The ceremony took place on the seventh day after the birth, when people gather in the house front, and a learned Islamic scholar announces the name of the new born and goes on to pray for the baby. The ceremony might be complemented by the presence of eulogist engaged in praise singing and musicians entertaining the audience. Traditional marriage activities evolved to be robust in activities that last for a week. Evidence and details of practices have been provided by Staudinger (1889b, p.62) and Smith, (1954, p.89). The activity would start with what is called a '*sa lallle*', (literarily putting Hena) as a symobolic mark of the beginning of the ceremonies. The bride and groom are separated for a week of activities that involved dancing to *kalangu* drums and entertainment for girls, and games and music for boys and general interaction and socializing for both. The ceremonies end on the seventh day with a public marriage ceremony officiated by a *mallam* in the house of the bride. This is later followed by a bridal procession, which moves the lady and all her possessions to her house of marriage.

Entertainment and recreation activities evolved during the Jihad period centred on forms of practices that are currently classed as traditional. One form of entertainment earlier discussed in chapter 5 was gambling. Gambling appeared from all indications to be a popularly practiced past-time that was identified with specific locations in the city. Other forms of recreation and entertainment of the Jihad period were more open and accessible. These include traditional games such as wrestling, boxing, and a traditional form of kick-boxing (*Kwambe*). Clapperton (1828) reported hosting a boxing and wrestling match in front of his accommodation. The widespread practice of such games in Zaria is supported by oral evidence (from detailed biography sources) of the existence of the practices up to the post-colonial period and reinforced by the report of Clapperton. Another form of widespread entertainment was Traditional *wasa* (play) of different forms by girls and children particularly during days of bright moon light (*farin wata*). Staudinger (1889b, p.68) has reported on the activity in the vicinity of Zaria, pointing out that it "seems to be usual everyday during the dry season." Ferguson (1973, p.266) has also reported it from Imam Imoru as part of the cultural entertainment of the Hausa people. Such plays would

start after sun set and last to as long as the middle of the Night. Girls would be found dancing to the music of *Kalangu* drums, with teenage boys courting them, while young boys would be found playing all sort of traditional plays such as '*Allan baku*' and '*Dan Kwarro*'.⁸⁰ All of the entertainment activities were complemented by itinerant entertainers who move about, particularly during the dry season providing different types of entertainment to people. Such entertainers include musicians, animal and snake tamers, hoe and other implement acrobats.

6.2.2.2 Social Activities in the Colonial Period

Activities and forms of practice from the Jihad period were inherited during the colonial period with many continuing without evidence of significant changes to the early post-colonial period. Examination of the distribution of craftsmen and traders in 1923 and 1953 for example shows that though the incidence of the different types of activities across wards differ, functional activities still retained its essential Jihad forms in terms of activity types (Urquhart, 1977, p.19-20). Aspects where changes occurred saw the introduction of new practices as the beginning of a process of the change of inherited activities. A new activity that was introduced was recreational sports. The establishment of schools of the western type as earlier highlighted in Chapter five led to the introduction of recreational sports activities to the city. Orr (1965, p.272) commenting on the activity, notes that "boys of all classes, chief sons, apprentices, and servants join in the games of cricket, rounders, jumping or running races every evening and show great keenness and enthusiasm." Another activity that was introduced into the fabric of the city during the late colonial period was politics. The introduction of political parties and activities and in particular the freedom of Native Authority employers to seek political party office saw political campaigning and activity becoming a part of public activities. Another noticeable change was also reported in respect of marriage practices. Smith (1955, p.550) reported toward the later part of the colonial period that "the Yoruba custom of *ajo* has become popular among salaried workers in Zaria city. By this custom the chief friend (*babban Aboki*) of the bride groom invites all and sundry to a *wasu* (lit. play) for which two or three teams of *maroka* (praise singers, eulogist), drummers, musicians and dancers are hired, and over which the bridegroom's friend preside. The purpose of *ajo* is to collect as much money as possible for the bridegroom by stimulating the generosity of the audience with the praise songs *maroka* make to donors." His report signified that a process of the change of inherited practices had started. Change also occurred in the gradual transformation of *bori* from a religious

activity to more of an entertainment activity and also in the introduction of new forms of functional activities, such as whole-sale trading of European goods and tin-smithing.

6.2.2.3 Social Activities in the Post Colonial Period

The post-colonial period saw a major reorganization of social activities in the city. Activities as earlier highlighted continued in a form that was substantially reflective of Jihad practices during the early part of the post-Colonial period. Gradually, however, many of these activities started dying out or getting transformed starting from the 1970s. This affected almost all activities in the city including Movement, functional, recreation, cultural, religious and entertainment activities. From the colonial period, forms of movement have gradually changed to motorized means. Animal transportation is now scarcely used within the city. The most common means of transportation are minibuses, private cars, cycle and motorcycle. There is still, however, a significant proportion of the population that move within the city on foot.

There has been a significant change in the nature of functional activities during the post-colonial period. Many craft activities gradually lost significance or died out. These include traditional dyeing, weaving, blacksmiths, and to some extent leather works. Others such as tailoring and embroidery adopted more modern methods of operation and survived in a different form. A variety of new forms of functional activities were introduced. On new functional activities in the metropolitan area, including the traditional city, Goddard (1970, p. 172) notes that "this period in Zaria has seen the introduction and spread of grinding machines for corn and vegetables, tin-smithing making containers and lamps from used tins, and silver-smithing, producing jewelry and ornaments from local silver. Small industries include baking, printing, photography, mechanical workshops using welding equipment for repairs and producing such items as iron bedsteads, and the recent introduction of dry cleaning. The spread of imported consumer goods, particularly watches, radio, bicycles and motorised transport has stimulated the growth of the repair industries necessary to maintain them. These include welding shops, already mentioned, but also mechanics, electricians, watch repairers, and spraying shops."

Changes to inherited activities also saw the abandonment of traditional forms of entertainment and recreation. These have become supplanted by recreational sports, particularly football and also by electronic forms of entertainment. The change has

gradually led not only to the disappearance of practices but to even a complete loss of knowledge about some activities by younger people, according to some interview sources (DB 02 & 03). The practice of itinerant entertainment while still existing now takes place in a much diminished form with the number of practitioners gradually declining.

6.3 The Daily Biography of Public Space

This section examines the daily biography of public space in terms of how people and activities are distributed in public space over the course of a typical day and periods when the city witnesses deviations from the typical patterns. The section starts with an examination of daily biography of public space in the Jihad period. Subsequently, changes to this pattern in the colonial and early post-colonial periods are examined. The section ends with a presentation of daily biography in the contemporary city.

6.3.1 The Daily Biography of Public Space in the Jihad Period

Daily biography in the Jihad period has its root in pre-Jihad material spaces and, social and spatial forms. The Pre-Jihad forms were gradually transformed over time into contemporary patterns. The lack of precise and detailed data sources on social life in the Jihad period makes it challenging to clearly reconstruct the pattern of daily biography of public space for the period. Using available sources and sometimes supplementing it with information from localities around the city and also general information about practices in other Hausa cities, it has been possible to reconstruct with some fair accuracy the daily biography of the Jihad period for Zaria. The typical daily biography is presented divided into two periods; the day time and the night time periods. The periods in which there are changes to this typical pattern are subsequently examined.

6.3.1.1 Day Time Period

Evidence seems to indicate that there was a heavy focus on day time activities to the detriment of night time activities in the Jihad period. Social activities begin from early in the morning and continue until sunset, when private familial life takes over, with the exception of a few play and entertainment areas. While the five daily Muslim prayers served to order the day for people, timing was not precise because of the lack of the means of keeping time. Activities would usually begin before sunrise for many who wake up to pray while for others it would begin at about sunrise.

Early morning activities would be centred on the private home, where women in seclusion start the day with the preparation of breakfast snacks, probably bean cakes for sale. For many young girls, the day would start upon their getting up, as they immediately prepare and go out to hawk snacks for most of the early morning (Smith, 1954, p.189). For boys and the many Islamic school students in the city, the day will start with preparations to proceed for Islamic instructions. Some Islamic school students might have to go round begging in the early morning hours to acquire the necessary food they need for breakfast. The students of the Islamic schools would begin to assemble in their various places of instruction by the time the sun is high and start their instructions for the day. As you move through the various wards of the city, you would see them sitting in entrance ways on streets, reading and chanting their lessons (Staudinger 1889b, p.106). They would continue doing so until mid-day, when they would take a break and come back about mid afternoon to continue until sunset. During the period of the break, many would be scattered in the city begging as a means of acquiring their sustenance.

By the time the sun was fully out, many adult males would begin to deploy to their places of functional activities. Daily life was focused on functional activities taking place in mixed use spaces, usually consisting of dominant activity and subsidiary ones with, for example, dyeing pits having retail marketing and entertainment. Places of functional activities were almost always accompanied by occasional entertainment activities especially during the dry season. Places would have adult males as the predominant actors, with many male and female children either hawking or playing. Some few women would be found in the functional spaces, either marketing food or other goods or on transit between locations. Slave women might be found assisting with other functional activities. This distribution of people in activity would vary in time over the course of the day depending on the type of activity and the location of the space. The commercial area would be the most active coupled with the areas around the palace. Throughout the jihad period, the palace was less active than the market.

The market would especially be noticeable because of its tempo of activity. The market was a very important centre in the daily life of people, serving not only as place of buying and selling but also a meeting place for idle people with nothing else to do, who go there to meet friends and talk. The market started in the morning but was busiest from after the afternoon prayer, about two thirty in the afternoon, to until about five thirty in the evening

or just about sunset (Staudinger 1889a, p.182). The butchers section of the market would probably be the earliest to operate especially if a bull was slaughtered. Such a slaughter would be announced to the city by a special drumming, inviting people to come and acquire fresh meat. Staudinger (1889a, p.145) reports of his porters laying down their loads on hearing such drumming and running off to bargain furiously. The meat from the slaughtered ox would, once it is prepared, be exhibited on tables of bamboo poles or be carried about the market in calabashes for sale. This particular part of the market is actively shared with vultures who continuously strive to feed upon the blood of slaughtered animals or from the skins laid out to dry.

By the time the market is full, there would be a tremendous crowd bustling and jostling and "a general hum of the shouting and bargaining of traders and customers" (Staudinger 1889a, p.180) which can be heard from afar. The greatest population diversity in the city would be reflected in the crowd. Children would be selling all types of foods and snacks for hungry market visitors. Itinerant women traders would be found selling prepared food and other materials with some acting as brokers and middle men. A popular part of the market would be the cloth and ready made garment area. In this area would be found clothing predominantly of local Zaria manufacture, but also from other places that include Kano and Nupe land. Apart from clothes other items of manufacture might be found that include saddlery and bridles, leather goods, mats and plaited objects, artistic metal casting such as arms and leg bangles and small boxes. Some objects of European origin such as mirrors and beads might also be found. Sometimes, items of trade such as cloth, beads and other apparels are sent out through agents who walk about the market displaying the material and seeking for buyers. Located slightly away from all of these activities on the road to the Gayan gate was the slave market. This market holds daily, even though there were never a very large number on view. The slaves would all be seated with males and females separated. There would be a broker in charge of them and a buyer could come and inspect them as he would a domestic animal. Once he finds one that he wants, he proceeds to bargain with the broker. In contrast with the bustling nature of the market, the area around the palace would be less noisy, with horses of visiting nobles assembled. The visiting nobles would be dressed in elaborate costumes and proceed to the kings court to await his appearance. Outside the palace entrance would be curious people and palace guards. Sometimes the roars of palace officials shouting "*Allah ya kiyaye Zaki*" (Transl.- may Allah protect the lion) in praise of the Emir might be heard. The sound of local brass

trumpets (*Algaita*) might sometimes be heard announcing the arrival of the Emir to hold court for most of the day, sometimes judging referred cases.

People would also be engaged in functional activities all over the whole fabric of public space with leather tanning, dyeing, blacksmithing, tailoring and other craft activities taking place in residential areas. Also, many expensive goods are not sold in the market but in private houses, with transactions arranged by middle men. So as one moves through the residential neighbourhoods of the city, people would be found engaging in these scattered functional activities, along with women either moving from one place to the other or moving between compounds hawking, children playing and some idle teenagers and adult simply sitting and discussing. At occasional points in the fabric, there might be found a concentration of hawkers and traders, creating mini markets. The streets of the neighbourhood would be lined up with cripples and blind people begging for alms, especially along the roads to the market. Occasionally as one moves through the neighbourhoods, you would come across people gathered and participating in social activities such as marriages or naming ceremonies particularly in the afternoon period. Sometimes you might also be lucky to witness spectacular events such as the arrival of a white man to the city as in the example of Staudinger (1889a, p.171) which he described thus:

The train of porters sorted itself into some order. Led by the musician and a vanguard of horsemen, we put ourselves at the head of our men and soon rode through the gate into the old and famous city of Zaria. Crowds of people came running to see that marvellous event—the arrival of the white men. Young boys and girls followed behind us shouting and shrieking, and the volume of the noise increased continually. Food sellers retrieved their baskets from the roadside screaming abuse. Bowls of fine white fura were upset into the dust by the milling crowd amidst the laughter of the onlookers, and inquisitive women in their doorways fled indoors shrieking with fear at the sight of us. We rode quite a way before we arrived at the house of our host whom the king had appointed.

In taking a journey through the public spaces of the city, a visitor would share the streets with donkeys, oxens and people. Occasionally, a saddled horse rider might be found on city streets. Most of the male pedestrians on the streets would be dressed in tobés, while the women would be in wrappers (*Zannies*) of limited palettes of bright colours, which would include blue, red and yellow (Clapperton, 1828, p.221-2). They might be wearing shoes of local manufacture. Small boys and girls aged up to eight or nine years would be naked,

except for a string of beads about the loins. At about the age of ten, both boys and girls start dressing up with a loin cloth. Richer people and children of richer people would be an exception, as they would be more elaborately dressed, with turban and head gear, and so distinguished in the city fabric. High class women would also be distinguished by their elaborate dressing and most probably by the escorts who follow them when they are in the public sphere. In many cases, children and adults would be wearing all types charms about their arms and waist as a means of protection against unseen forces that might harm them. As activities go on for the day, they would temporarily stop with the call for the Muslim prayer, when the people would take time out pray, and probably interact for some time before resuming their activities. As the evening approaches, the activities in most areas of functional activities including the market would wind down as people return to their residential quarters.

6.3.1.2 Evening and Night Time Periods

At sunset, house frontages would become the focus of social activities for the male members of the population. Where houses have a mosque people would pray and thereafter sit in front of the houses. In most of the spaces, the males may partake in a communal meal, with each household making a contribution. They would thereafter retire to discussing and waiting for the late night prayer, after which most would retire for the day. Places where there are no mosque would have the same routine except that they would probably pray in their entrance huts. For male children, the period between the sunset and late night prayer would be spent in different types of plays (*wasas*) in front of the houses and they would also retire as the adults begin to retire. Married women would use the early night period to move about and visit one another. They could usually be seen on city streets veiled, probably with children as escorts moving from house to house. For two groups of people, the night-time activities could extend far much more than described. When the moon is full, or there are marriage ceremonies, girls could be found in play spaces singing and participating in a type of traditional jumping dance (*ga'da*) or dancing to *Kalangu* drums. They would be singing songs, sometimes using it as a means to ridicule people who have engaged in acts contrary to the norms of society. Teenage boys would be milling about them, trying to make girlfriends (*budurwa*) and in the process identifying suitable brides for marriage and the continuation of the social order of society. Another group, comprising of males, seeking night entertainment would be found in houses of entertainment. Such men would be found either engaged in gambling or in enticing the free

women that might be in such houses. Alternatively, the houses may also be point of *bori* practitioners, and so a group might be found entering into spirit trance to *garaya* music. In all, the music of young girls singing and dancing and of music coming from entertainment houses would form the background sound in most city neighbourhoods for the early part of the night. The activities would die down by around midnight, when the whole city would retire and become quiet.

6.3.1.3 Changes in the Typical Pattern of Daily Biography

The typical pattern of daily biography outlined sustains for most days of the year. The pattern is however subject to changes due to natural and social temporal rhythmic events as well as other foreseen and unforeseen events. The case of full moonlight period and its impact on play activities has been discussed above. The pattern might also be more applicable to periods from the middle to the end of the jihad period when practices had become more established. Two other important sources of changes are that due to seasons, and due to religious and other rhythmic events.

6.3.1.3.1 Changes due to the Seasons

The daily biography is affected in different ways by the two principal seasons of rain and dry season. Farming was a primary occupation in Hausa land during the Jihad period and the rain season was the period of farming (Hogben, 1967, p.51). After the first rain has fallen around May, farmers would start a daily life focused on farm activity. Daily life during the farm season would start at the early hours of the morning when people leave for the farm either within the city walls or outside. This would include both men and slave men and women. They would work on the farm until about late afternoon when they would return and participate in social interactions until night when they would retire. The rainy season would see most productive males engaging in farming for most of the day. The city would therefore be left populated mostly by traders who do not engage in farming and by children and women. Because most married women, especially those belonging to a higher social status, are confined to the house, city pathways and open spaces would be populated mostly by children.

The dry season was usually a free period when people could engage in activities other than farming. This was the period for executing public works also. In Zaria, this means that each ward had to undertake the repair of its section of the city wall (Hogben, 1967, p.118). The

carrying out of this activity freed people to participate in many other activities. People of the city did most of their travel during this period (Clapperton, 1828, p.213). The dry season was also the time for war, raiding, and also for trading (*cin rani*) (Clapperton, 1828, p.213; Hogben, 1967, p.118). The movement of people away from the city depopulates it. But the city is then repopulated by people coming from villages to seek urban employment. These people would usually engage in different types of entertainment activities and also participate in traditional boxing and wrestling matches. This makes the dry season a spectacular period of entertainment and fun. This environment of fun and recreation was enhanced by the fact that marriages were usually conducted during the period. Marriage activities, coupled with courtship and entertainment creates a celebratory feeling in public space during the dry season. Caravans and traders were also most active during the dry season. This ensures the arrival of both novel and new goods and people to the city. It therefore enriches the heterogeneity of the city and ensures contacts with others as well as with new products and ideas. The dry season was also the active season for craft production. While craft production does proceed at some level during the rain season, it was limited by the participation of craftsmen in farming. The intensity of craft activity would therefore be reduced during the rain season.

6.3.1.3.2 Changes due to Religious and Other Rhythmic Activities

The daily biography is also subject to a pattern of rhythmic change associated with the weekly Friday Muslim prayer, and the weekly schedule of Islamic schools. Fridays are days of congregational prayers, when people are obliged to concentrate at the only Friday Mosque of the city to observe the prayers. This therefore alters the typical daily pattern of public space. People would wear their best clothes on that day and visit friends, nobles and patrons in the morning, to bid them happy Friday (*sanu da juma'a*) (Staudinger 889b, p.67). This is also the audience day for the Emir, when anyone with a request or wishing preferment may seek audience. In the afternoon of the day, "the cultured people visit the mosque and beggars congregate at the gates of the well-to-do in order to extract alms" by calling upon the grace of god. After the prayer, life in the city gradually returns to its regular pattern. Islamic schools are partially closed on Thursday and fully on Fridays. It is customary to see more children in public space on these days, and to also see more begging by students of the Islamic schools.

The daily biography also changes with the religious occasion of the Ramadan and the occasions of the Eid prayers. During Ramadan, activities shift to the evenings. The market and general commercial activities also shift to the evening. The nights are celebrated with different sorts of games and masquerade dances (*Tashe*) that add an element of gaiety to the whole city (Staudinger 1889b, p.67). There is strong evidence to support existence of elaborate celebrations during the two Eid prayer periods. Staudinger (1889b, p.68) reported witnessing Eid celebrations with people dressed in their best cloth and celebrating over the course of three days. Clapperton (1828, p.163) has also observed the celebration in Dunchow for three days with women dancing throughout the night. The collection of evidence shows that Eid did alter routines and result in a celebration that last at least three days in Zaria also.

6.3.2 Changes in Daily Biography during the Colonial and Post-colonial period

The pattern of daily biography inherited from the Jihad period appeared to have continued into the colonial and early post-colonial period with minimal changes, occurring gradually in certain aspects of social life. Change reflected those of the general cultural situation of the city, as well as in social composition and activities that occurred during the colonial and early post-colonial periods. During the colonial period, non-familial social activities gradually began extending into the night and this has continued to the contemporary period. The rhythmic effect of moon patterns on night time activities has also gradually waned, with tempo of activities remaining consistent irrespective of whether the moon is full or not. Over the course of time, certain spaces have also evolved to play a more prominent role in the daily biography of the city's public space. The gates have become active locations of functional activities compared to their previous entry function. The Dandali, as the Emirs palace, open space in front of it and the roundabout providing vehicular access to the palace has evolved as a significant focal point of social life, paralleling the market as a daily centre of the city. Not only did the market lost its centrality in the city, but the whole city itself lost its central position in the urban hierarchy as other new districts and markets competed with those of the city. This has diminished the importance of the market as a commercial hub. The construction of vehicular roads during the colonial and post-colonial periods also created new centres of activities. The new roads also reflected a gradual change in the means of transportation.

The colonial period saw the start of the gradual dying out of craft activities, which continued into the post-colonial period. This was reflected in daily public space in the form of the gradually migration of craft activities from quarters and the market areas to the roads where they became the focus of daily life. The residential areas were left with residues of craft activities including tailoring, hand embroidery, and tanning. New activities and space types, particularly recreational sports, altered patterns to the extent that evenings have become a period of concentration at the various play areas and field for many young adults to either play or watch football. The cinema and private entertainment facilities introduced during the post-colonial period have also become focal and premier points of night time activities, for adults and teens. Changes within these periods resulted in the growing diversification of people's activities in city spaces, while retaining its essential social structure. A survey by Ebuga (1984) found that in a sample of 47 people living the central part of the city, 37 out of 40 engage in shopping for at least an hour a day, all the sample engaged in social activities for between 1 and 4 hours, leisure and recreation, religion, and travel for between 1 and 2 hours, and engage in work or school activity for between 1 and 6 hours. This shows the diversity of activities and level of participation in social activities. Throughout the colonial and post-colonial period, prayers and the call of the Muezzin continue to serve as a marker in the division of the day, structuring daily temporal activities in public space (Abdullahi, 1986, p.6).

Changes in daily biography resulting from the impact of seasonal changes in people and activities, has diminished with time, even though it still plays a role in shaping the daily distribution of people and activities. The diminishing importance of seasonal changes is reflected in a more uniform activity pattern across the year. The concept of a five day working week with Saturdays and Sundays as days of rest has gradually taken hold in the city during the post-colonial period. This has also affected the weekly tempo of activity in public space. The weekends became days that the tempo of population and activities is reduced. Variations in daily biography resulting from events, however, persisted throughout the colonial and post-colonial period. Some activities such as naming ceremonies, marriages and Eid Celebrations were expressed with different forms of practices in public space. Patterns of change of activities in Ramadan continue to reflect past practices, even though, the festivities and shows associated with the period are gradually dying out in the post-colonial period. Eid practices have continued but in a form

that is more elaborate than probably happened in the Jihad period. The form of current practices will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.3 Daily Biography of Contemporary Public Space

To facilitate the examination of patterns in the daily biography of contemporary public space, the typical day has been divided into four periods; the beginning of the day, the day time, the late evening period, and the Night period in line with observed current cultural patterns of social life.⁸¹

6.3.3.1 The Start of the day (5:00–7:00am)

The typical day in contemporary Zaria city usually starts with the early Morning Muslim Prayer, which takes place at about 5.30am every day. The end of the prayer marks the beginning of the day as early morning people prepare and leave the house for the day's business and people begin to the daily population of public places. The earliest risers are usually adults, mostly men with some few females, who engage in early morning business, are going to prepare for the day's business, or who are travelling. Among these are commercial transporters, butchers, production and service oriented workers, and prepared food vendors. Most early female risers are food vendors or traders.

During the early morning period, four public spaces stand out as the focus of activity; roads, ward spaces, the abattoir, and gates. Ward spaces and roads become populated as people begin to leave their houses for their various functional activities. The gates witness an early activity level as they serve as hubs for ferrying people in and out of the city. The abattoir becomes active by virtue of the need to slaughter and distribute meat early. Activity at the abattoir finishes early, as by around 9am it is usually virtually empty. As the day fully breaks, the population of people in public space increases, as the general population joins the preparation for the beginning of the day and start deploying for regular daily functional activities. Children in uniform populate the streets as they go to schools, workers in both the formal and informal sectors also move out to go to work and vendors of different types of breakfast snacks deploy for business. Residential ward spaces, roads and gate continue as the most active space. Roads and gates continue to facilitate distribution, while the ward spaces and some road spaces became the vending point for different types of breakfast snacks.

6.3.3.2 The Daytime period (7:00 am–7:00pm)

By around 8.00 am, the pace of accumulation of people in public places assumes a rapid pace as the tempo of activities gradually increases. People leave the city for work outside, while some come to their place of work in the city. Those who live and work in the city move to their place of occupation to start the day's business. Children also leave for the formal secular and Islamic schools, while those in the Islamic schools start their instructional activity for the day. As time passes and the productive population become fully established in functional activities, the population of another category of people, the unemployed and hawkers, begins to increase in public places. By around 11am, people and activities become fully deployed in public spaces. Common activities that would be found in public places would include; production, services, commerce and hawking, interaction and discussion, recreational games, and prayers. These activities are combined in different proportions at the different spaces of the city, including road spaces, the dandali, gates, community spaces, markets, and institutional spaces. Road spaces act as the anchor to which all other spaces and activities are tied to or nested in. Two patterns of daytime activity are discernible in relation to the roads and other linked spaces; the first pattern is within distributor roads and ward spaces, and the second pattern is within major and district roads.

6.3.3.2.1 Distributor Road and Ward Spaces

The distributor roads and associated ward spaces start the day being very busy as people leave their houses to places of occupation. By around 10 am, the ward spaces and roads achieve an equilibrium tempo of activity which sustains for most of the day. The equilibrium tempo has the ward spaces and distributor roads sparsely or scantily populated. The population consist of some few adult males and females, and teenage boys and a large number of children of both genders. Children are found playing grouped by gender in the residential ward spaces. The teenage boys and adult males are found sitting on podiums in front of houses. Adult women are found on the road moving from one house to the other. Children and teenage boys may also be found playing football in neighbourhood play areas. Many neighbourhood streets and spaces would also be populated by a large number of the Islamic school students, moving about usually in tattered clothes and in an unkempt state either begging or playing. The distributor roads are shared by people, occasional cars and sometimes animal transportation- either donkeys or horses. As one moves about the interior of the wards, incidental commercial places are found at road junctions or in prominent

ward spaces where a kiosk and concentration of vendors may be found. These would be selling items such as tea, snacks (bean cake- *kosai and Alele*), and sometimes food. These would usually be the most active places in the neighbourhood, having a representation of almost all age groups and genders. Some of these places may also have production activity, mostly carpentry or tailoring and embroidery work. The equilibrium tempo of life in the neighbourhood distributor roads and spaces is usually interrupted by the Muslim prayers, when the mosque momentarily becomes the centre of activity and interaction.

In moving about the different wards of the city, activities relating to death consolation, marriage ceremonies and entertainment may occasionally be witnessed. Marriage ceremonies are recognizable from the large population of elegantly dressed people of different backgrounds and origin in a space and sometimes also by the assembly of a large number of cars. Marriages are also characterised by the presence of eulogist and entertainers. Unsolicited entertainment may also be found within the wards. Entertainment activities may involve drumming or dancing, and always attracts a large crowd of audience.⁸² The equilibrium tempo of activity in the ward roads and spaces continues until around 12.pm when children begin to return from formal schools, and around 4 pm when the general population begins to wind down functional activities, with both gradually leading to an increase in the population of the ward spaces making them the focal point for social interaction.

6.3.3.2.2 District and Major Road Spaces

The major and districts roads are the hub of activities and social life in the city during the day. The nesting or linkage of these roads with almost all the other public places means that they provide a mirror to view the day time activities and social life of the people. The road spaces and their nested or linked spaces start having a build up of people and activities from the early morning period and by around 10 am achieve a stable pattern and tempo, that continues for most of the day. The stable pattern consist of varying pattern of social composition and activities across the major and district road spaces and the other spaces that are nested in or linked to it. The roads themselves are busy throughout the day with people moving about using all the available means of transportation, with motor cycle transportation increasingly being pervasive and dominant. As the major and district roads are traversed, contact is made with other nested and linked spaces, including production

and service spaces, gates, the dandali, and markets, and with transient activities such as unsolicited entertainment, hawking, and social interaction.

Production spaces are recognisable from the display of finished products or by fabrication and production activities and their associated sounds and smells. The spaces act as mini-centres, attracting people and activities. Services spaces are distributed unevenly along road spaces. The most popular are motor vehicle and bicycle repairs. These are located in open spaces, though sometimes vehicle repair yards are fenced in. In all cases, however, activities are always directly visible and accessible from road spaces. Like production facilities, service spaces sometimes also end up as mini-centres of activity. Production and service facilities remain active throughout the day. Gates not only serve to bridge the city but have evolved with a unique daily activity pattern, depending on their classification as high or low activity. The high activity gates are usually busy for most of the day with people embarking and dropping, buying and selling, interacting, providing services of all kinds. The low activity gates maintain a very low tempo of activity being just entry points. They are less populated and more homogenous in composition than the high activity gates.

The Dandali on ordinary days is a place for functional activity. The concentration of public institutions and the many traders who line its road space on normal days makes it a centre for functional, gathering and interaction activities.⁸³ The Dandali is also ultimately the front (*Kofar Gida*) of the Emirs house, the palace, and so activities and celebrations of the emir's family are held in the space. Babban Dodo, which is nested within the Dandali is usually intensively active during the day with informal commercial and interaction activities. Almost all age groups are represented in the space for most of the day, with a greater number of men than women. Commerce as earlier highlighted is a pervasive activity throughout the public space of Zaria city. The central market and the market at Amaru, serve as the hub of daily commercial life. The markets functions as a place for almost all the types of functional, recreation and entertainment activities practiced in the city. Almost all the genders and age groups are represented in market spaces. Activity would usually start very early, by the start of the day, and would last until sunset when they gradually wind down and become virtually deserted. Similar pattern is noticed in areas of commercial concentration within the fabric of the city. Some commercial areas, particularly those in highly active areas, do remain open late into the night.

As people carry out their daily activities in the various roads and other linked spaces, locations of population concentration tend to attract additional activities thereby accentuating the tempo of activities in the locations. One of these activities is unsolicited entertainment. Entertainers could occasionally be found in the city moving from one location to another, entertaining people and soliciting for gifts. They would usually also attract a ready audience creating event points in public space. Hawking is also pervasive in almost all the spaces. Hawking is carried out by almost all age groups, but there is a predominance of children and teens. Adult males can be found moving about selling all kinds of items such as household goods, medicines, tools and hardware, while young teenage boys and girls could be found selling all kinds of prepared and unprepared food items. Hawking is usually a daytime activity and hawkers can usually be found between the later part of the morning hours to the early evening period. Almost all road and associated functional spaces are also ultimately places for social interaction and discussion (*hira*). In almost all the places, people could be found sitting on benches discussing and interacting, while some are conducting their businesses or occupation and occasionally joining in the interaction and discussions. Transient vendors would occasional stop for a rest or in the

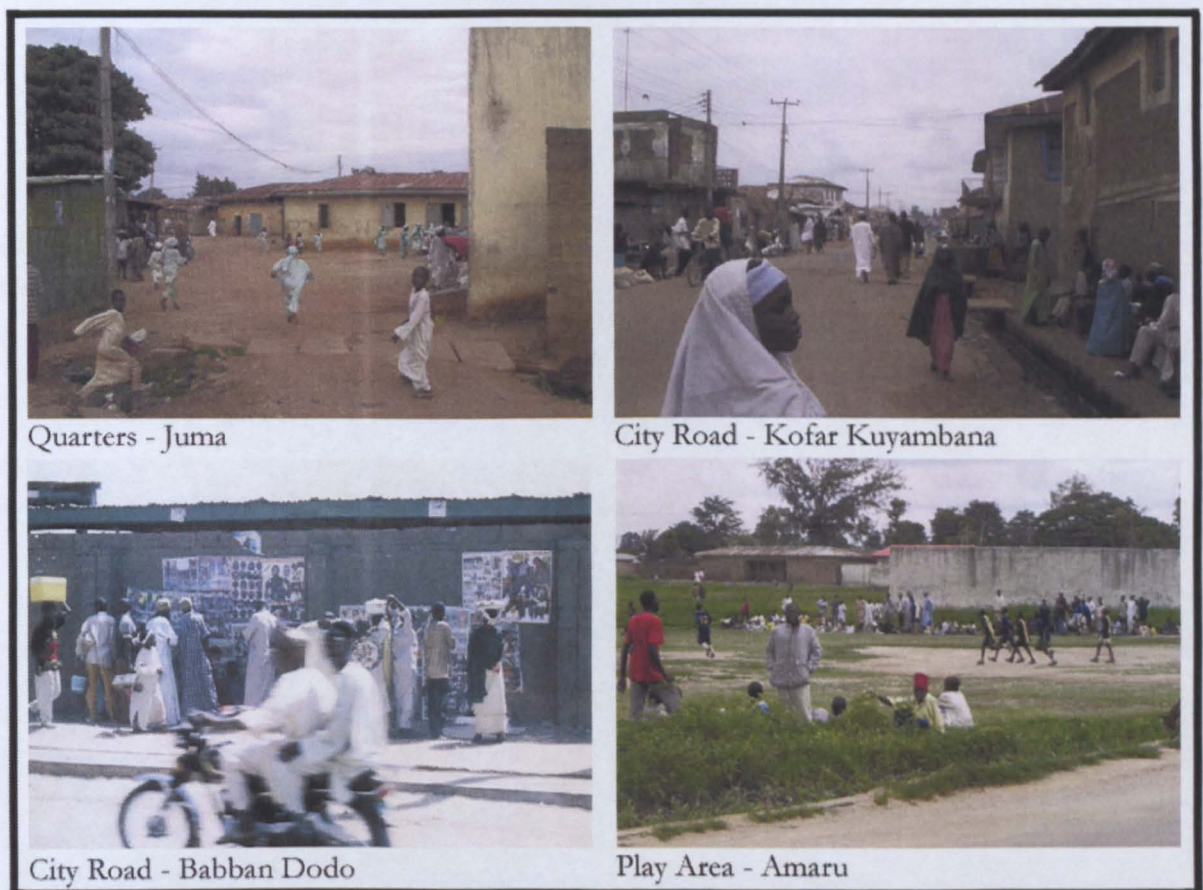


Figure 6-8: Day time activities in public space

hope of selling something. Many of the spaces with a significant concentration of people would have a mosque within, and the call to prayer from the mosque serves as a temporal marker, leading to a pause in activity, as people take time to pray and probably take a short rest to sit and interact.

The general tempo of the major and district roads and associated spaces continues for most of the day. This tempo begins to change by around noon, when formal schools end their day releasing a large number of colourfully dressed school kids for transit in public space. By around 3.00 pm, some of the actors, particularly teenagers and adults engaged in occupation or interaction and discussions, begin moving from their place of day time activity to play areas to engage in or watch sports activities. By about sunset, activities in the roads and associated spaces begin to wind down for the day and only some few spaces remain active into the night.

6.3.3.2.3 Government Offices and Recreational Sports Areas

Government facilities and recreational sports areas have a pattern of activity that is distinguished from the roads and their associated spaces. The government offices would normally start functioning by around 8.00 am at the beginning of the work day. Once they begin operation, they accumulate of population of people, workers, contractors, visitor and hawkers, who create an interesting ecology that combines work with interaction and discussion and trading. All of this ends at around 4.00 pm when work for the day finishes and people retire from the facility for the day.

Recreational sports areas become the focus of activity towards the late afternoon, usually between 3 to 4:00 pm daily. At this time teens and adults, especially those who are back from daily occupations or business and school, and those who are unemployed assemble at the various football fields to either watch or play football or other games. The recreational sport grounds would usually start becoming active by around the late afternoon period. The city stadium at the Dandali is fenced and only used occasional for formal games attended by a fee paying audience. Most people would be found in institutional football fields or in play areas located within residential neighbourhoods, where established league teams might be practicing or playing a match, or where non club members might just be playing a football game. A few people may be found playing basketball, volley ball or fives at the Al hudahuda secondary school fields, or playing snooker at particular locations in the city

where tables have been set up. Almost all the recreation activities, with the exception of snookers, begin to wind down at sunset, with people dispersing to their various wards. Sunset would also mark the end of almost all daytime activities as a different set of spaces become the focus of night social life.

6.3.3.3 The Late Evening period (7:00–11:00pm)

Immediately after the evening prayers, a noticeable shift in activity patterns occurs. The major roads and other spaces that were active spaces wind down, leaving only some few active spots, while the inner wards become more active. Within the wards, the residential ward spaces serve as the focal point for daily late evening social interaction. It is heavily populated between the Maghrib and Isha prayers and is deserted by around midnight when it becomes silent. The residential ward spaces would usually be populated by neighbourhood male adults, male teenagers and children, with some few teenage girls. People would sit on podiums in front of houses grouped according to age interacting and discussing. Teenage boys and adults may be found isolated engaged in courtship, while children play around in the ward spaces. All of this takes place in the presence of commercial activity in the form of neighbourhood shops selling different types of products but mostly daily provisions, medicine, and tea. In neighbourhoods where Video show houses are present, they also become active after the late night prayer (around 8.00 pm). Teens and older children who would have had their appetite wetted by show advertisements on buildings, trees and special billboards troop to the video show houses. Those who could afford pay the entry fees to watch shows of local, western or Indian films. Others loiter around on podiums of the surrounding houses, interacting, chatting and discussing, until the end of the show at around 10 pm when events close for the day. On special occasions, where there are important football matches or events, the show house would open in the afternoon.

On the city major roads, some central commercial areas, gates and roads continue to have a busy activity pattern during the late evening period. Traffic on the road remains busy during the early evening period but continues to decline as the evening wears on, with commercial bus transportation declining faster than private car and motor cycle transportation. Traffic gradually declines as midnight approaches and the roads become very quite. Some central commercial areas attached to roads such as Babban Dodo, Amaru Market area and Rimi Tsiwa continues to be active during the late evening period. In these

places commercial kiosk selling daily provisions, along with tea and kebab (*Suya*) vending combine to create a point of activity that also attracts people interested in interactions and discussions. Most of the occupants of such areas are usually males, mostly adults and teens, though occasionally a female or two might be found selling either food or snacks. These places remain active until towards the middle of the night when they close for the day. The Cinema located on the principal thoroughfare of the city is also a place of intense activity during the late evening period. By around 8.00 pm, people, mostly adult males and teens with many being bus drivers and workers begin to assemble in front of the cinema. Some would eventually enter to watch the showing of the day while a significant number will form a crowd of people outside who would be interacting, chatting and just passing time. Supporting the crowd there would be vendors of food and snacks and all kinds of products, including exotic traditional medicines. The combination of people, commerce and activities creates a vibrant night life there which endures to the end of the day's show, when the place gradually becomes deserted until it becomes empty. Most gates remain active during the early part of the late evening period as people return from their daily occupations and other social activities outside the city. Most of the gates however settle to a very low tempo of activity by the time of the last Muslim prayer. The Doka and Kuyambana gates, however, remain highly active well into the middle of the night because of their role as transportation hubs.

6.3.3.4 The Night-Time Period (11:00 pm–5:00am)

Towards the middle of the night, activity in almost all spaces, with the exception of some few places, winds down as people retire for the day. The few active places would include the Babban Dodo roundabout and the Doka and Kuyambana city gates, where commercial activity is complemented by the availability of motorcycle transporters well into the night. Other than these occasional late night places, the city spaces becomes deserted and public space become the territory of criminals, who occasionally carryout daring armed robberies. Accounts of three such robberies were heard in the course of the fieldwork.

6.3.3.5 Pattern of Change in the Daily biography of public space

The pattern of the daily biography of contemporary public space is also subject to change due to forces related to social and physical temporal cycles, and from particular events or activities. The most common forces are due to weekly rhythms of social life, seasonal pattern, and during special events such as the Eid Celebrations.

6.3.3.5.1 Changes due to the Temporal Rhythm of Social Life

Changes in the pattern of daily social life in public space are witnessed weekly on Mondays, Fridays and during the weekends. Monday is the day of the weekly market, *Kasuwan Katafawa*, in the *Rubu* ward. The market starts at around mid-day and ends by the evening. It is a market for women, and on market days leads to an increase in population and activities in the vicinity of the market. The Muslim Friday congregational prayer, which takes places around 2:00 pm, also produces changes in the daily social life pattern of the city (Figure 6-9). Activities at all other city spaces would virtually grind to a halt as the prayer time approaches with the well dressed people of the city trooping to the Friday mosque. After the prayer, the Dandali becomes transformed into a meeting point for socialization, entertainment and Commerce. The space becomes a setting for entertainment (*wasan hoto*), hawking and trading, services such as shoeshine, barbing and manicure, interaction and exchange of greetings, marketing of different types of goods. The weekend days of Saturdays and Sunday are work free days for a segment of the city's population. These would include students, those employed in the formal sector, as well as some self

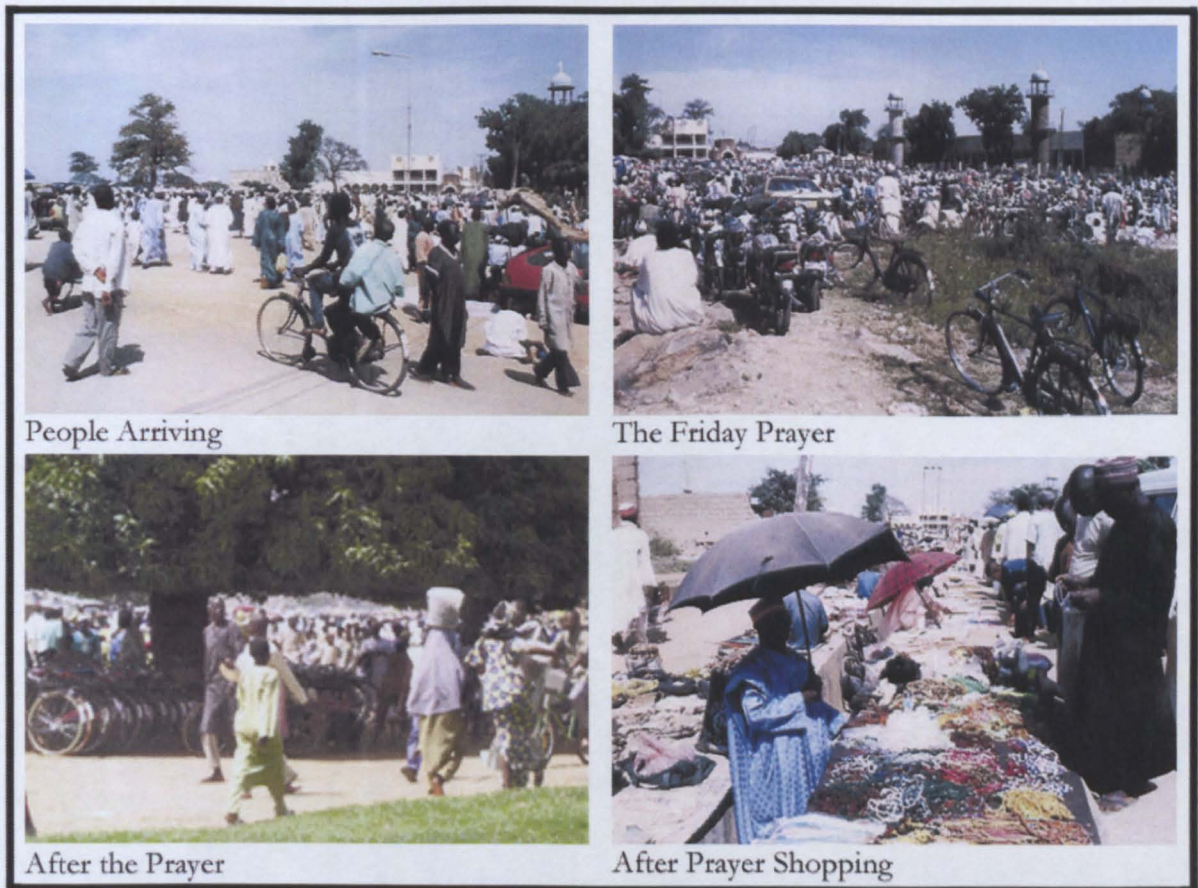


Figure 6-9: Friday prayer in the city

employed people in production and service trades. This impacts public space as there is a reduction in the population of people moving in the early hours of the morning. The city streets also become less busy, while neighbourhood roads and spaces become more active, with the ward residential spaces remaining active for most of the days. Recreation and play areas also remain active throughout the day.

6.3.3.5.2 Changes Arising from the Seasons

The rain and dry seasons appear to have a waning importance in the social life of the contemporary city. Despite the declining importance, the seasons still play some role in structuring social life. Many inhabitants of the city are still either full time or part-time farmers. The season therefore structures their activities, with functional activities frequently interrupted to engage in farming during the rain season. The dry season also brings a lot of visitors from other Hausa cities, who come to be schooled in Islamic knowledge, for trading, or to offer entertainment services. This makes the city more populated and active in the dry than in the rain season.

6.3.3.5.3 Changes due to Religious Events and Celebrations

The pattern of daily social life is also altered due to religious events, especially the two Eid prayers and the Ramadan fasting. Celebrations during the Eid could be categorized into two; the official celebration by the Emir and the general celebration by the residents of the city. The current official celebration includes a show of horse mastery, entertainment, drumming and social interactions that last for three days following the Eid Prayer shown in Figure 6-10. The three days of celebration are referred to as *Hawan Sallah*, *Hawan Daushe* and *Hawan Bariki (Gwamna)*. The Hawan sallah starts on the morning of the Eid Day. Immediately after the prayer, the Emir proceeds to the Kofar Kuyambana Gate from the Eid prayer grounds, from where he mounts his horse and surrounded by officials proceeds on a processional ride to the palace. The procession is accompanied by trumpeters, courtiers, drummers, singers and entertainers while the population of the town along with visitors line up along the streets to watch the event. On reaching the palace, the Emir sits on his horse in front of the palace and a special horse race called “*jahi*” takes place, whereby each title holder and territorial official would assemble his horsemen, race about 200 meters, stop abruptly in front of the emir and raise his hand in a sign of allegiance and loyalty. Each of these officials and his assembled escorts would be dressed and adorned in unique ways, giving a colourful and ceremonial look to the whole occasion.



Figure 6-10: Eid prayers

The Hawan Daushe takes place on the second day after the Eid. In this parade, All the District heads of the Zazzau emirate would assemble in the palace and the emir would come out and proceed on a parade from Kofar Gayan (Figure 6-11). The parade will end at the palace, where he will sit under a tent. All the district heads and territorial title holders of the emirate would come and perform the “Jahi” pledging their allegiance and loyalty to the emir (Figure 6-12). The event on the third day was recently introduced. On this day, the Emir and his officials would converge and go to greet the governor of the state who would have come to a government guest house in the city. The Emir will spend some time with the governor, after which they will come out and sit outside while the officials offer greetings to the Governor and emir.⁸⁴ Other than the official celebrations, the seven days following the Eid are days of celebration for the people of the city. During these days, children would normally be dressed in their most beautiful clothes and would visits their families and relations. The Eid celebrations are attended by all ages and gender, though only a very negligible proportion of married women attend the event. The period of



Start of the Parade



The Emir



The Emir's Guard



Parade Audience

Figure 6-11: Start of the Eid parade at Kofar Gayan



Parade Participants and Watchers



Animal Entertainment



Matching to Pay Respect to the Emir



Parade Participants

Figure 6-12: The Eid parade at the Emir's palace

Ramadan fasting is also still associated with certain symbolic activities that occur both in the day and night time. These include religious preaching and entertainment (*Tashe*). These are usually not fixed to particular locations but move about between spaces in the city. The form of the entertainment activities have endured from the pre-colonial period even though with declining intensity. Even then the Ramadan activities are still popular with city residents.⁸⁵

6.3.3.5.4 Changes due to Other Events

There are also other periods or events that also result in significant changes to the daily pattern of social life in Zaria's public space. These include turbanning ceremonies, visit of important dignitaries, the school vacations, and periods of unrest or mass action. Traditional title conferring ceremonies or what is popularly called "turbaning ceremonies" could significantly impact daily social life, depending on the importance of the occasion. At important occasions, the ceremonies usually involve pageantry that attracts people from both inside and outside the city. A visit by prominent dignitaries also has the same effect. School vacations would free children from any engagement and increase their visibility in public space, particularly in neighbourhood spaces. Occasional political and mass protest events do sometimes create occasional spectacles that become prominent and may alter patterns of daily social life.⁸⁶

6.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter examined change in the public space of Zaria from a social perspective in the period between 1804 and 2004. As in the case of material space, change was found to be gradual and to have occurred in a diverse way across the various historical periods and aspects of the social dimension of public space. Some social patterns were inherited from the pre-Jihad period and formed the root for the evolution of patterns in the Jihad period. The Jihad period saw the evolution of patterns that remain fairly stable with minimal changes during the colonial and early post-Colonial periods. The greatest changes in social patterns occurred during the later part of the post-colonial period.

In terms of social character, the public space evolved with a fairly stable pattern of access across gender and age groups. Males across all age groups were the dominant actors in public spaces, having unlimited access to both places and activities. Females had limited access to public space, with restrictions varying according to age, marital and social status.

Married adult females from a high social status background were the most restricted. Female children had fewer restrictions. Across all periods, participation by females was limited to certain types of activities. Diversity in ethnic terms was greatest during the Jihad period. It has since then given way to cultural homogeneity due to assimilation. Activities have evolved over time with changes more in the form of practices than in the evolution of new activity types. Movement, religious, entertainment, recreation, functional and cultural activities have witnessed substantial changes in the form of practice that in some cases, such as recreation has seen the complete replacement of traditional forms with newer or more modern practices. The pattern of daily biography has also evolved retaining some form but also changing substantially in certain aspects. Aspects where changes are most noticeable are in the expansion of activity centres, in the extension of activities into the night and the reflection of associated changes in social character and in form of practices. The seasons are also evolving to play a lower role in social life.

Certain observations are also pertinent in respect of the evolution of the city's public space from a social dimension. The loss of ethnic and cultural diversity in the city, coupled with the loss of ability to attract migrants means that the associated enrichment that occurs from such diversity in terms of ideas, artefacts and practices have been lost by the city. While residents still have the opportunity to interact with other nationalities outside the city, their significant absence in the city fabric has the capacity to engender cultural stagnation. Examination of activities also indicate that there have been a shift in the productive base of the economy of the traditional city from a craft oriented production activity to an economy that is virtually service in nature and oriented only towards meeting the needs of the city's population. The city suffers from manifest unemployment which is visible in the population of people engaged in interaction and subsistence trading. Examination also points to an increase in recreation and entertainment activities, which is not matched by the provision of facilities to support need.

CHAPTER 7: THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF PUBLIC SPACE

"Public life is as much about activities, however, as the symbolism which results from these activities enabling people to root themselves in place, time and history" (Carr et al 1992, p.187).

7.0 Introduction

This chapter examines change in Zaria's public space from a symbolic dimension. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section examines how place significance and group connections and identity in the city has evolved over the period of the study. The second section examines change in attitudes, values, and symbolism in the public space of Zaria. Included in the examination of symbolism is an examination of the role of religion as a symbolic system in the social life of the city.

7.1 Place Significance and Group Connections

This section examines place significance and group connections. Place significance is examined through the identification of the most important places in the city from the perspective of visitors and citizens at different historical periods. Group connection is examined in terms of the different types of connections and identities that prevail in the city in different historical periods.

7.1.1 Place Significance and Significant Places of Zaria

7.1.1.1 Significant Places of Zaria

Examination of place significance indicates that certain spaces in the city have been consistently important and significant over the course of the city's history. The most prominent of these spaces are the Dandali and the Market. The primacy of the spaces has, however, diminished with time as activities and interaction became increasingly decentralized with time to secondary nodes located at lower spatial levels of the city's fabric.

7.1.1.1.1 Significant Places in the Jihad Period

The most significantly places, featuring in most descriptions and commentary of the Jihad period, are the Dandali, the market and some city gates, principally the Gayan, Doka and Tukur-tukur gate (now Kofar Kibo). Dandali, market and gates were significant not only in

Zaria, but across all the Hausa cities as fundamental elements of the traditional form of cities.

As earlier discussed in chapter 5, there are conflicting reports on whether the present palace of the Emir was established in its present location before or after the Jihad. Anyhow, the palace was rebuilt during the century fronting the open space of the Dandali and evolved as the centre of the political life of the city. The establishment of the palace also led to settlement of Fulani rulers around it and the evolution of its vicinity as a neighbourhood for ruling class persons. The construction of the Friday Mosque by Emir Abdulkarim in the 1830s (Moughtin 1972, p.143), created another centre of symbolic religious importance at the Dandali. The mosque was not only important as a symbolic religious centre, but also commanded attention because of its outstanding architecture. The mosque shown in Figure 7-1 was designed by *Babban Gwani* (transl: the best among experts) Mallam Mikaila, and consisted of a complex of buildings which include a main hall for worship, the *shariah* court, and ablution chambers. The mosque was conceived as a big sculptural form which defines and encloses the main space, with the structural members clearly expressed and providing the framework for the composition of the form. With the construction of the mosque, the Dandali, as space fronted by the palace and the Friday mosque, evolved signifying the unity of both political and symbolic power in the person of the Emir and as the place for important state and religious activities.

The market complemented the Dandali as the economic centre of the city. The market had existed before the Jihad, but became more important and prominent in the Jihad period because of the expansion in trade and contact. The two most prominent visitors to Zaria in the Jihad period, Clapperton and Staudinger, both visited and commented on the Dandali and the market. Clapperton (1838, p.159) acknowledging the Dandali and market notes that "Abdulkarim's house, where I lived, is in latitude 10 degrees 59 minutes North and Longitude 8 degrees 42 seconds east. Near the centre of the wall stands the principal mosque, built of clay, having a minaret about forty or fifty feet high. The principal market is at the south end, inside the walls, and here the caravans make their tongas and camps". Staudinger (1889a, p.172) has also reported on the palace, observing that it was the centre of assembly and activities by the nobles of the city. He also lists the palace and the Mosque as among the remarkable buildings of the city. Staudinger (1889a, p.180) provided an

elaborate description of the market, pointing out its importance as a centre of commerce and a general meeting place.

The gates of Gayan, Doka and Tukur-Tukur evolved to be significant and more important than the other gates of the city. These gates provided linkage to important towns that Zaria was in contact with. The Doka and Tukur-tukur gates provide linkage to Kano and Sokoto and to farm settlements and suzerain cities of Zaria such as Giwa located along that route. Kofar Gayan on the other hand provided linkage to suzerain cities to the south, as well as to important trading centres located in Nupe and Yoruba land.

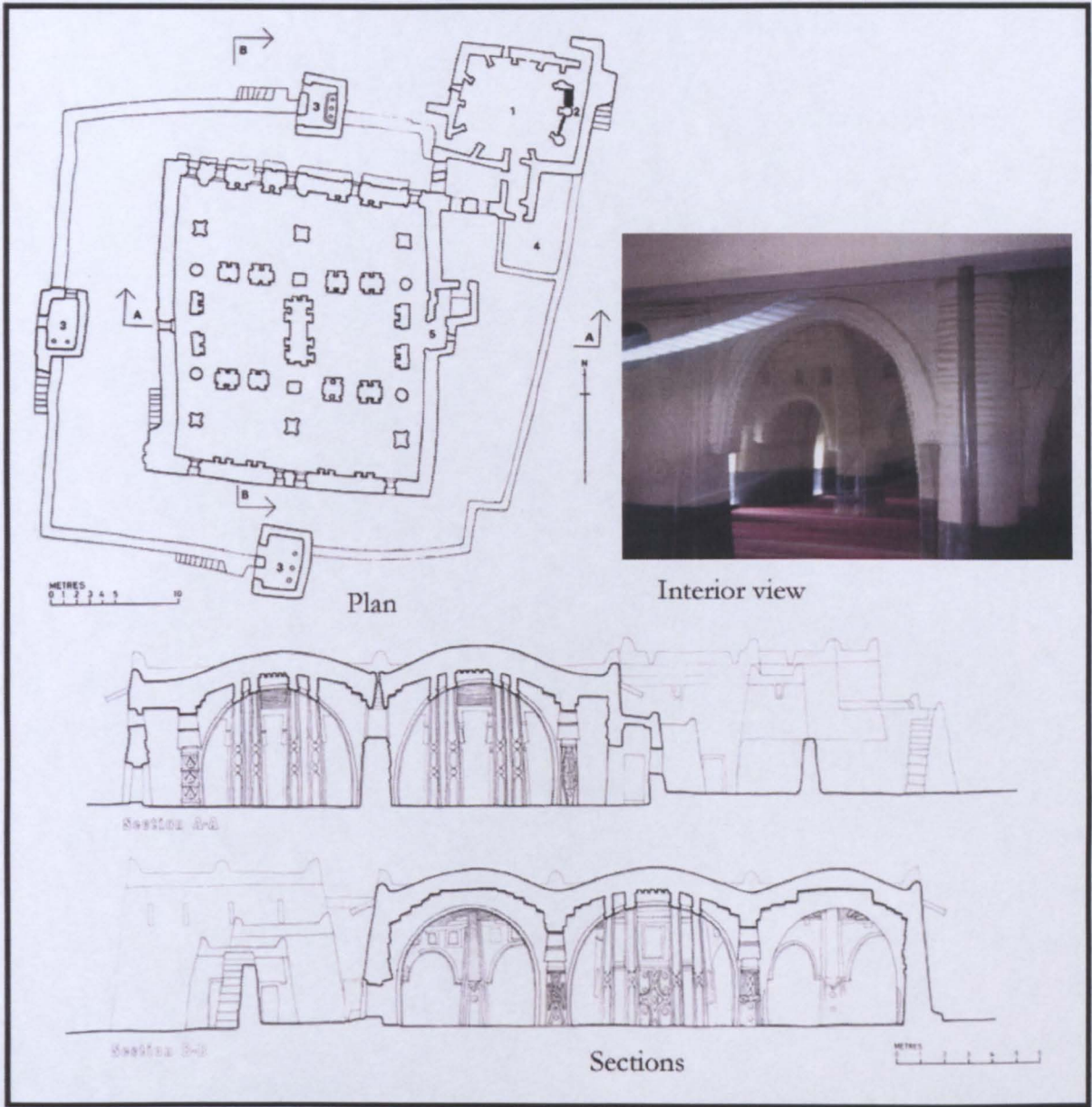


Figure 7-1: The Friday Mosque in Zaria (after Moughtin, 1972)

7.1.1.1.2 Significant Places in the Colonial Period

The significant places from the Jihad period formed the bases for development and transformation during the colonial period. Transformation saw the rise of new important places, the strengthening of some existing ones, and the start of a hierarchical classification in the role and significance of places for the city's population. The Dandali and market retained their prominence as the most significant places of the city. The addition of a terminating roundabout to the Dandali as well as the construction of additional institutional facilities within its vicinity during the colonial period strengthened the prominence of the dandali, thereby significantly elevating its importance for city residence. The construction of vehicular roads, particularly the Kofar Doka to Kofar Kuyambana road, created new centres that attracted both people and activities. Certain gates especially those associated with the road ways, including Doka, Kuyambana and Gayan, increased in importance and became very prominent and widely known places in the city. The colonial period also saw the establishment of new places which gradually achieved prominence and recognition. These included the prison, The CMS grammar school and the Works Departments. Field work sources (from detailed biographical interviews) also highlighted the fact that certain local places such as Kanfage and Marina in Alfadarai were well known and significant centres in their vicinity. Kanfage has in several instances, been identified as a place linked with modernity and new trends. Based on the observations, it is may be feasible to suggest that during the colonial period, smaller, well recognized centres might have evolved to play a significant role in the daily life of their localities.

7.1.1.1.3 Significant Places in the Post-Colonial Period

The pattern of significant places inherited from the colonial period continued well into the early part of the post-colonial period. The Dandali and the market maintained their position as the main focal points of the traditional city. Beyond the 1970s, the patterns gradually began to change, with the most prominent change being the spatial decentring of activities that led to the growing importance of secondary centres operating within wards and the reduced role of spaces operating at the level of the city. These new activity spaces included small local markets, playfields, prominent roads, some gates as well as some prominent facilities such as schools, and government facilities. New facilities such as the paradise cinema also became very well known. Gradually, over the post-colonial period, and particularly starting around the mid 1970s, road construction has led to the evolution of competing streets serving as important focal points of social life. The Kofar Doka to Kofar

Kuyambana road became particularly prominent in this period. It had the highest concentration of significant places including a cinema, hotels, hospital, and schools, and tended to attract more well off people of the city and was also the place where the most extensive use of new or modern construction materials is evident (Mama 1966, p.2-3). It has also been suggested that people of the city generally developed a stronger sense of rootedness and attachment to wards during this period. Prominent places and houses also evolved as image markers in the city. It became fashionable to refer to locations by reference to the owner of the house fronting particular spaces.

The trend of the decentring of activities in current times is leading to the hierarchical organization of place significance, with significance operating at the level of the city, urban district and neighbourhood. Traditional important places such as the dandali and gates continue to be important. Gates also continue to increase in importance. The analysis of fieldwork data shows a very strong attachment and connection of residents to the walled city.⁸⁷ There is no one single factor accounting for the attachment. Seven factors predominate in the reasons given for attachment to the city. The factors arranged in order are social environment, educational role, values and morality prevalent in the city, the history and heritage of the city, its spatial demarcation and identity, religion, and its traditional institutions and activities. Most quarters, with the exception of Alkali do not have a clear emerging identity. In the case of the Alkali quarter, the quarter still has a strong widely acknowledged association with judges and the judicial occupation. In respect of other quarters, the responses of interview subjects on the issue of identifying characteristics indicated a trend towards identifying items of values in quarters rather than their distinguishing characteristics. These items are discussed further down under norms and values and symbols in public space. Responses from the fieldwork indicate a diverse list of more than 38 places identified as being favourite or important places in the city. Out of this number a few places stand out being cited most frequently. These places could be grouped into four; spaces in the dandali, the gates, other city spaces, and quarters of the city. Figure 7-2 shows the most significant places of the city and the percentage of people identifying them as such. The four most recognizable places in order are the Palace, the Central Market, The Babban Dodo Roundabout and the Kwarbai

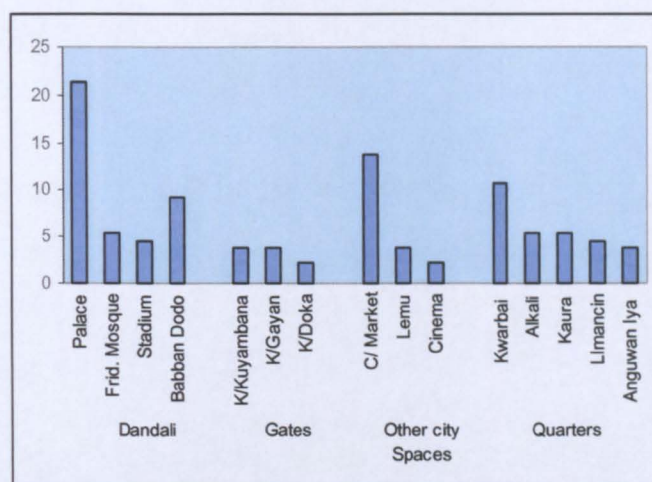


Figure 7-2: Current significant places and their level of recognition

ward. In terms of space grouping, the Dandali ultimately still remains the premier space of the city. The Central Market has also retained its high level of significance. All the three prominent gates of the city, Doka, Gayan and Kuyambana, and the Premier entertainment facility, the cinema, are all acknowledged as important. Among quarters, the Kwarbai quarter is the most prominent with four other quarters, Alkali, Kaura, Limanci Kona and Anguwan Iya being acknowledged.

7.1.1.2 The Basis for Place Significance and Attachment

This section examines factors that contribute in defining the significance of places and the attachment to them for the people of the city. This is examined at the level of places and of the city as a whole. At the level of places, examination of available information seems to suggest two mutually reinforcing factors as accounting for the importance of particular places for the people of Zaria; symbolic importance and the function of the space. Places in the city are important because of the symbolisms attached to such spaces. Thus the palace, the Friday mosque and the Dandali that incorporates both, are important because of the symbolic association with political power, with religion, as well as with history and cultural symbolism. A special type of symbolism results from the sense of rootedness associated with belonging to particular wards of the city. People tend to commonly identify themselves with their ward, and this is sometimes reflected in desires to have the ward physically developed with better services and physical infrastructure. Apart from symbolism, spaces also acquire importance from the function they perform for people or the activities that takes place there. Example of this type of significance is found in the prominent gates. Gates that are the centre of activities and hub of transportation have evolved among the most recognizable significant places of the city. A place like the market

combines both symbolic importance as a centre of economic activities, as well as importance as a centre of activities and interaction.

At the level of the city, the reasons given for current attachment are many and relate to environment, the educational role of the city, social culture, history, boundary demarcation and religion in order of importance. From responses of the residents, attachment from an environment point of view is seen in terms of “social cohesion” or “spirit of togetherness”, “peaceful coexistence”, “protection and security”, and “law and order”. It is inherently apparent that the people of the city feel that they have a more functional sense of community and security compared to other parts of the city. This is supported by the observation of Saad (1981, p.38) that in the opinion of city dwellers, “all urban sectors outside the walled city...collectively known as *waje*...is where all the undesirable things are housed and physically or symbolically locked out by the city gate (*Kofar Birni*); prostitutes, pimps, booze, criminals, thieves, foreigners, ...” In terms of education, the city is generally perceived as a centre of education, principally Islamic, but increasingly western also. Residents appear to appreciate this image as is reflected in its ranking among the factors. People are also attached to the city because of the perception of “refined” or “unadulterated culture” that prevails in the city. Further explanations from the responses include the lack of prostitution and alcohol and the “decent” behaviour of city residents. People, who view their attachment to the city from the perspective of its history, see the city as historically symbolic, pointing out its heritage of bravery and heroes, including Queen Amina. Attachment based on demarcation focuses on the concept of ‘originality’. The walls of the city are viewed as demarcating original indigenes of the city from people who are migrants or non indigenes. So being in the city confers an identity of originality in place. Attachment based on religion and traditional institutions focuses on the city as a centre of Islamic religion and education, and the traditional administrative institutions of the city and their rituals and ceremonies respectively.

7.1.2 Group identity and Connections

Group identity and connections focuses on identifying the various ways that population of the city is structured into social groups with unique identities and the various factors that account for the connection of individuals to the groups. Examination of group identity and connections of Zaria's people indicate a trend of change from a focus on membership of

broader social groups, to a narrow core localized identity, and a situational membership of broader groups, depending on the frame of reference or the 'other' being contrasted with.

7.1.2.1 Group Identify and Connection in the Jihad Period

The focus of social grouping and identity in the Jihad period appeared built around three factors; the Sokoto caliphate, ethnicity and place of origin. Towards the later part of the period, ethnic identity appeared to have declined in importance due to cultural assimilation. The Sokoto Caliphate, as a political and religious grouping, provided the bases for a supra-ethnic ethos. Moughtin (1985, p.25) associates this with the Islamic ideology of the *Umma*, which served as the strongest agency for large scale political integration. Political integration brought together a diversity of people from different ethnic groups and localities, uniting them under the banner of religion and placing them in a situation where they could be contrasted with the non-Muslim population or be identified with others with whom they share a common faith. This unity gave the people the freedom to move and settle anywhere within sphere of influence of the Caliphate. Social interaction, marriages, familial relations, and trade across the cities and towns of the Caliphate enhanced and promoted the sense of connection, unity and identity. Staudinger (1889b, p.28) commenting on the issue, has also suggested that subjects of any king had no great feeling of nationality, because their allegiance was to the Sultan, who was respected as the religious head of the caliphate, suggesting that local identity was unimportant and subservient to identity associated with the larger political grouping.

Apart from identity as a member of the caliphate, evidence also supports the existence of identity based on ethnic affiliations. The Hausa- Fulani distinction was always there as a major divide, even when people considered Hausa may have belonged to other ethnic groups. There were also other ethnic groups such as the Nupe, the Yoruba and the Zabarmawa that were represented in Zaria's public space. These groups appear to have had distinct identities, which in some cases was also manifested spatially in the form of Neighbourhoods where they are aggregated. The Fulani were thus concentrated in the Kwarbai ward, the Hausa in Juma and Iya wards, the Nupe in Angwan Nufawa and the Yoruba in areas around the market. Ethnic affiliations extended beyond the boundary of the space of the city, as ethnic groups were affiliated with each other irrespective of location. Apart from ethnic affiliation, there also appeared to be a tendency for individuals and groups to identify with their place of origin or roots. The Fulani, for example, differentiated

themselves according to whether they came from Futa-toro or Futa bonda. Clapperton, (1828, p.160) in this respect identified and associated people with their place of origin, suggesting that it might have been a common practice. As the Jihad period progressed, evidence suggests that there was a greater degree of integration, as other ethnic nationalities adopted the Hausa culture and lost their distinctive ethnic characteristics. Thus the observation Staudinger (1889b, p.440) that, "now adays Zaria certainly appears to be a typical Hausa town".

7.1.2.2 Group Identify and Connection in the Colonial Period

Patterns of social grouping, identity and connections changed during the colonial period as a reflection of changes in the situation of the period. Security and settled lifestyle and the need of the traditional city population to define the 'self' in contrast with the population living in other new districts of the city led to the emergence of a strong localized identity centred around the traditional city. People in essence became more spatially rooted in the city and they became identified as indigenous to the city. This is in contrast with 'others' who live outside the city and are therefore not indigenous. Concurrent with this development was a decline of identity associated with ethnicity and place of origin. Rather, the assimilative power of the Hausa culture appeared to have led to cultural integration, leading to the emergence of a more homogeneous identity centred on the city and Hausa culture. Identity built around the Caliphate continued, but in a reduced nominal form compared to the Jihad period. The emergence of national politics towards the end of the colonial period, after the second world war, led to the emergence of new forms of grouping and identity as a means to struggling for power and influence on a national scale. The concept of the 'northerner' evolved grouping together all the people who lived in the northern part of Nigeria under the leadership of caliphate political institutions, thereby bringing about a resurgence of Caliphate identity (Smith, 1960, p.249).

7.1.2.3 Group Identify and Connection in the Post-colonial Period

After the advent of independence, the people of Zaria evolved with a strong local identity, a shifting situational broader identity, depending on particular circumstances. The people of contemporary Zaria city tend to view themselves as a homogenous spatial group with a unified social identity. More than 14 factors were put forward in responses to account for the homogeneity and unified identity of the city's people. Out of these 9 were found to be most frequent and are shown in Figure 7-3. Of these factors, a common religion was

identified as the premier factor accounting for 27 percent of responses. This is followed by cultural practices (17%), and a cluster of factors that include same tribe, language or origin, inter-marriages among the people, social cohesion and the spatial identity or separation of the walled city. Cultural practice is further broken down to traditional values, cultural activities such as the Eid celebrations, and mode of dressing. Social cohesion is described by respondents as sense of togetherness, respect for one another, cooperation and peace and cordial existence. At the bottom of the list is education (5.5%), the history of the city (5%), and kingship and associated traditional institutions (3.07%).

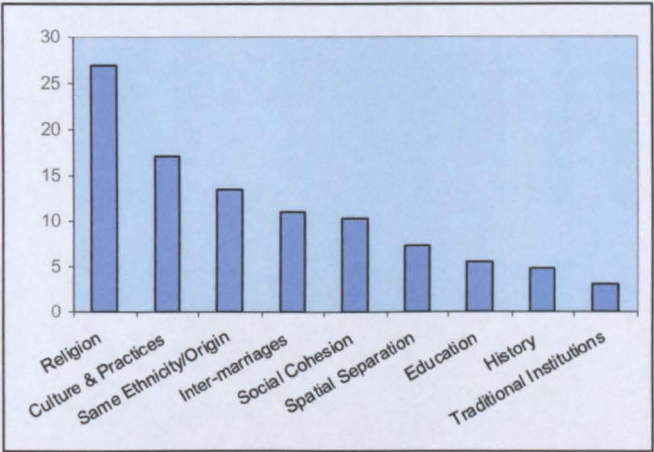


Figure 7.3: Factors accounting for current group connection and identity at the city level

At the broader level, group identity tends to shift between Caliphate, Hausa, state of origin, northern Nigeria and Nigeria, depending on the situational frame of reference. After independence, identity evolved in Zaria city with a nominal connection to the Sokoto caliphate, a far stronger connection to ‘Hausa’ people and culture, which by all means is also correlated with being Muslim people. Just like the case of identity at the city level, the connection to a broader Hausa culture is accounted for by a variety of factors. Eleven factors were identified from responses on the issue, out of which 8 appeared significant accounting for 96% of responses. These are shown in figure 7-4, along with their weight based on frequency of responses. Religion remains the pre-eminent important factor in connection and identity as Hausa (36.4%). This is followed by language (22%) and tradition and culture (21.4%). Trailing in order in the list are inter-marriages, commerce, socialization, cordial relations and education. Parallel to identity based on caliphate and cultural affiliation is also the recognition of identity based on current political divisions and organization, including a national identity. The different identities that the people of the city have appear to become operational depending on situations. In the fight for national

resources, the national and Hausa group identity prevails. Within the metropolitan area and among Hausas, the narrow city and indigene-ship identity appears to prevail.

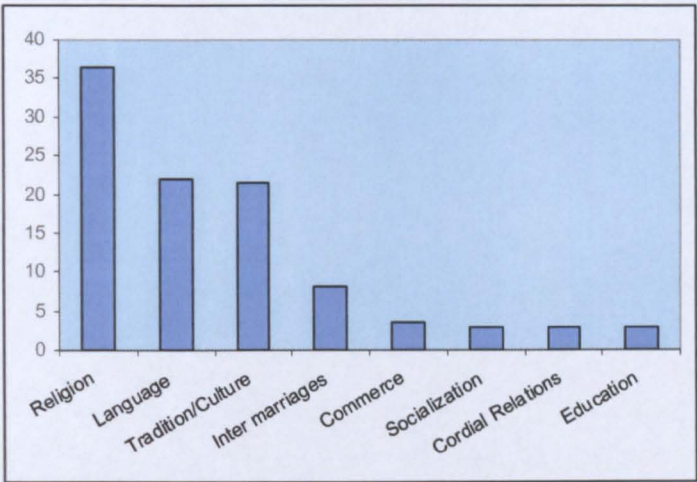


Figure 7.4: Factors accounting for current connections to Hausa culture

7.2 Attitudes, Values and Symbols

This section examines attitudes, values and symbolism as is evident in Zaria’s public space during the period under study. It is divided into two parts. The first part examines change in behaviour and attitude while the second part examines change in values, norms and symbols in public space. The role of religion as a symbolic system in social life is addressed in the last section of the chapter.

7.2.1 Behaviour and Attitude

This section examines the typical modes of behaviour and attitude associated with the people of the traditional city from the Jihad period to the post-Colonial period and identifies changes that are currently occurring in behaviours and attitude. The review of a variety of sources reveals some of the key public behaviours and attitude associated with Zaria people. The people are generally presented as merry, well behaved and peace loving (Orr 1965, p.159).⁸⁸ The people are also generally polite, accommodating, welcoming, helpful, loyal and inquisitive (Abdullahi1986, p.4). Commenting on the Hausas and politeness, Robinson (1900, p.43) notes that "politeness is such a marked characteristic of the Hausa that a stranger could almost distinguish them from other natives by a careful observation of their demeanour. A Hausa would seldom pass one of his fellow-countrymen, much less a stranger, without saluting him." Staudinger (1889b, p.60) also notes that the people "respect privacy, and will not enter the inner rooms of a stranger's house without

invitation. When entering a *zaure* they have themselves announced by a servant, or they enter with a loud 'salam aleikum' which is answered as a rule with 'alakum a salamu'" The people, he further points out, have a fairly developed sense of justice and try to avoid appearing unjust. Though they have knowledge of right and wrong, he points out that they do not often act according to this knowledge (Staudinger 1889, p.58). Staudinger pointed out that woman made a better impression in terms of character than men, being more honest, grateful, sincere and well tempered. Hogben (1967, p.51) also points out that the people are generally law abiding and obedient to their rulers, even when the rule is unjust. They also tended to be indifferent to affairs of state and lack of any form of expectations from the state. People generally had patrons, from whom they had higher expectations.⁸⁹ Orr (1965, p.159) also observed that the people do not care who ruled them, as long as they are allowed to freely engage in their personal activities.

All the behaviours and attitudes outlined were reported in the period from the Jihad to the Post-colonial period. Examination of the situation in the current city indicates that the prevalent attitude and behaviour is still friendly, accommodating and inquisitive.⁹⁰ The general attitude is also one of non-confrontation and fatalistic resignation, submitting all events, even in the case of conflicts, to preordination. Thus all obligations and responsibilities as well as social outcomes are interpreted as preordained. Norms, values and practices are accepted uncritically, while socialization is viewed as a community responsibility and even strangers can caution or advise a person engaged in activities deemed to be inappropriate. Socialization encourages the recognition and acceptance of differentiation, including roles assigned to the different strata of society. Underlying this general attitude and behaviour is, however, a growing discontent and contestation of the prevalent attitudes and behaviours fuelled by disaffection with the existing status quo. This disaffection was witnessed several times during the field work in the form of complaints about physical development, lack of services and opportunities, which sometimes led to antagonisms against the research team in view of the perception of their association with government.⁹¹ Instances of riots and civil disturbances appear to be largely linked to this disaffection and are a form of an expression of political discontent. Several interviewed sources have also pointed to aspects of this change noting that the decorum and discipline associated with members of the community is no more there, and that now children do not respect the elderly and that people are also now getting into the habit of consuming all types of intoxicants.⁹²

7.2.2 Norms, Values and Symbols

This section examines the normative rules that govern the socialization process of society, values in terms of the evident customs and institutions of society, and principal symbols in public space and the type of meaning or association they communicate across the three historical periods of the study. In examining all of the above, the chapter also attempts to identify in what ways the systems of norms, values and symbols in each period are contested and challenged.

7.2.2.1 Norms, Values and Symbols in the Jihad Period

The norms and value of the Jihad period are rooted in the predominant Islamic value orientation of the period and in customary and traditional practices that have been carried over from past practices in the pre-Jihad period. Islam provided the system of rules that specified the acceptable and unacceptable bounds of behaviour and provided a system of sanctions and punishment for those who cross the bounds of acceptable conduct. The role of the Islamic religion in social life is further discussed in detail further down in section 7.3. Staudinger (1889b, p.201) commenting on this role notes that "the customs and habits introduced with the Mohammedan religion have gradually raised the Hausa to a level of culture higher than that of their neighbours". Societal values of the Jihad period were expressed in both positive customary practices and in taboos or unacceptable conduct.

Customary practices spell out a right way of doing many things, including courting, marriage, naming and other ceremonies. Practices defined generational age categories and standards of behaviour.⁹³ Smith (1955, p.41) has, for example, identified four different norms of behaviour that are observed between clearly specified categories of kin; the discipline- respect relationship, the avoidance-shame relationship (*kunya*), the fondness relationship (*Zumunta*), and the joking relationship (*wasu*), which would most probably have been operative during the Jihad period.⁹⁴ Customary practices also evolved during the Jihad period specifying the right way of dressing, with dressing becoming standardized and a unifying element. Reports indicated that men wear thobes while women wear *zani* (wrapper). The people of the Jihad period generally appeared to value dressing and beautification (Clapperton 1838, p.201; Staudinger 1889, p. 202). The people competed to wear the finest garments and people sought to make themselves beautiful through the application of henna and the use of available cosmetics. On henna, Clapperton (1838, p.201) notes that "people go as far as having themselves stained every three days at a great

sacrifice to their comfort". Staudinger (1889a, p.229) also notes that young girls and women were particularly concerned with adornment, pointing out that "they dress their hair with great care, they drape ears, neck and arms with jewellery and beads and use all the arts of colour cosmetics known in these countries."

Another item of great value during the Jihad period was traditional title holding. Traditional title holding evolved during the period being synonymous with accumulation and was greatly desired. The desire for traditional title holding translated into the system of patronage, whereby individuals became clients of powerful and aspiring title holders in the hope that when they acquire the titles, they will also be rewarded with lesser titles. This practice led to the evolution of the customary system of social status based on Prestige (*Daraja*) (Smith 1955, p.15). At the top of this customary scale was the aristocracy by birth, followed by those appointed to office. Others in order of importance are the Islamic scholars (*Mallams*), successful merchants, craftsmen and so on.

The principal taboos of the Jihad period originate mostly as prohibitions by the Islamic religion. Prominent among the taboos are non marital sex and pregnancy, alcohol consumption, gambling, and prostitution. While these were widely acknowledged as unacceptable conduct, they were still practiced within the city and also in the immediate region within which Zaria is located. Staudinger (1889b, p.63) has reported some of these practices, particularly prostitution, non-marital sex, and gambling. In respect of prostitution, he notes that "nowhere does prostitution constitute a revolving vice" as in the city. Clapperton (1838, p. 201) also reported a case of gambling involving one of his assistant in Kano in which he lost his thobe. The reports support the widespread existence of the practices among both Arabs and Negroes, even when it was associated with the ultimate sanction of death for whosoever is caught by the Fulani rulers.

Examination of the Jihad period points to some significant situations or objects that convey and communicate important symbolic messages. Among the residents of Zaria in particular and members of the Caliphate in general, dressing has always served as a means to project culture and distinguish themselves from their neighbouring pagan groups whom they despised (Staudinger 1889b, p.201). Customary dressing also served to indicate membership of cultural groups. Thus the Hausas evolved with particular type of appropriate customary dressing for men and women and which served to identify them as

members of the cultural group. Dressing also evolved as a significant system of status differentiation. Rulers and people in position of authority wear dresses that are complete and elaborate thereby distinguishing them from others in the society (Staudinger 1889b, p.201). The nobility also wore turbans which signified their status and further differentiated them (Staudinger 1889b, p.205). Houses were also a means of materially projecting status and power in the city fabric. Allan Leary (cited Moughtin 1985, p.133) in a study of Hausa wall decoration has found out that in the early nineteenth century, rulers and office holders had privileges that included the right to wear rich apparels and express rank through the building of elaborate homes. The commoner, who was linked to the rulers through clientship and patronage, was not permitted to express themselves in this way. Throughout the Jihad period, houses, particularly of the *soro* type evolved associated with the upper class who needed to project power and who could afford the services of expert builders needed to construct such houses.

Of particular importance in the Jihad period was the development of symbols associated with the emir. Clapperton (1838, p.158) reported of the Emir Abdulkarim visiting him upon his arrival without commenting on any entourage suggesting that none followed the emir. Clapperton (1828, p. 180) did however later report on the use of entourage, noting that “the governor had a singing man along with drums and horses, with the singing man roaring like a person in agony”.⁹⁵ This to a large extent indicated that the use of entourage by Emirs might have been an elective practice at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Towards the later part of the Jihad Period, it however appeared that such entourage had become a part of the symbolism of office. Staudinger (1889, p.172) in visiting the Emirs notes among other things, courtiers and elaborate building with decoration and the use of long brass trumpets (*Kakaki*) as entourages that projected the status and power of the Emir (Figure 7-5). Smith (1955, p.84) has also identified some of the ways that the rank and power of the emir is projected. These included the fact that he is the only person allowed to proceed on state occasions under a large velvet umbrella, he is distinguished by the way he folds his turban, and there are certain greetings such as, '*Ran Sarki ya dade*, (May the king's life be long), and '*Allah ya ba Sarki nasara*' (God grant the



Figure 7-5: Royal entourage as symbols

king victory) which are solely reserved for him. Musical instruments such as the Kakaki, and the Pompomi, a short wooden drum may only be played for the Emir. Inferiors are also obliged to prostrate themselves before him and may not speak or rise until spoken to or are dismissed.

7.2.2.2 Norms, Values and Symbols in the Colonial Period

The norms and values of the Jihad period with their roots in the Islamic religion continued and formed the bases of development during the Colonial period. Customary practices relating to marriages, naming and other ceremonies, continued in their essential form. In some cases such as that of marriages, reports indicated that towards the later part of the Jihad period, new and foreign practices such as the *ajo* were being adopted pointing to the beginning of the transformation of such practices. Customary practices relating to dressing continued and actually blossomed as it became more affordable and the system of production more efficient with the introduction of sewing machines.⁹⁶ The gradual expansion of the metropolitan area during the Colonial period and the presence of other modes of dressing especially for ladies, appear to have led to an insistence on a rigid dress code for ladies. Up to around the 1980s, it was unthinkable for a lady to go to the traditional city wearing trousers or without covering her head.

The formal system of social stratification continued and only began to change towards the later part of the colonial period with the rise of a western educated class, who assumed the position of political leadership (Whittaker 1970, p. 99).⁹⁷ Western education emerged at that point in time as a new source of power that was gendered, being open only to men. The western educated persons, who formed the bulk of the emirate bureaucracy emerged as "both the carriers and outcome of social change" in the society (Kirk-Greene 1962, p.35). Despite the new source of power, traditional institutions still commanded respect and traditional titles were desired by the general population of the city, including the new western educated class. Whittaker (1970, p.346) commenting on parliamentary members, among whom are found a large segment of the western educated class, notes that, "few parliament members who lacked *sarauta* professed to have no interest in acquiring one. In my survey, a frequent reply to the query 'do you hold a traditional title' was 'not yet'." At the same time, titles that had no intrinsic value in terms of increasing prestige or access to resources began to die out. Smith (1955, p.7), for example points out in respect of craft titles that "in answer to the question 'why are there no longer any craft titles', Hausas repeatedly say '*sarauta maras amfani wane yana so*' that is 'who wants a useless title? title without use (*amfani*).'" With regards to taboos, these continued with strong roots in Islamic prescriptions. Not only did taboos continue, but it appeared that from the colonial period, taboo activities gradually disappeared from the boundaries of the traditional city, and there was a tendency for people to deny that such practices within the city. Most would rather associated it with the society of loose 'others' living outside the confines of the traditional city.⁹⁸

The colonial period also witnessed the strengthening of symbols inherited from the Jihad period as well as the rise of new ones. The period saw an expansion in the construction of *soro* type buildings, with such buildings symbolizing the epitome of technical achievement in construction as well as the social status of the households (Figure 7-6). Closely associated with the expansion of *soro* type building construction, was also an expansion in external house decoration (Figure 7-7). Moughtin (1985, p.134-7) points out that such decoration is a phenomenon of the twentieth century and that the expansion may be associated with the gradual relaxation of the extreme sanctions against such display in competition with the noble class. The trend is also reflected in the increasing prosperity and buying power of merchants and farmers. While decoration might have evolved as a means of defining and accentuating doorways to houses, over the course of the colonial period,

they increasingly evolved to reflect the social standing and "stature and personality" of household occupants (Moughtin, 1985, p. 146). The decorations also served to capture the acceptance of new values and artefacts. Thus new icons such as owners' car registration number, aeroplanes and sewing machines became embedded as part of decorations, sometimes as reflections of ownership, profession or travel experiences. Towards the later part of the colonial period, the introduction of new materials resulted in a change in values that was also reflected in buildings (Figure 7-6). Cement blocks and plaster as well as tin roofs became popularly accepted and were adopted as a symbol of both modernity and social status. This resulted in the gradual decline of mud construction and decoration with a new form cement plaster scratched decoration supplanting the traditional mud decorations.

New symbols also emerged during the colonial period, associated with the rising bureaucratic class working for the Native Authority or the regional government. Kirkgreene (1962, p.35-6) commenting on these symbols notes that "...the most important of these is an automobile for without an automobile no new bureaucrat has the slightest



Figure 7-6: House as symbols in the built fabric

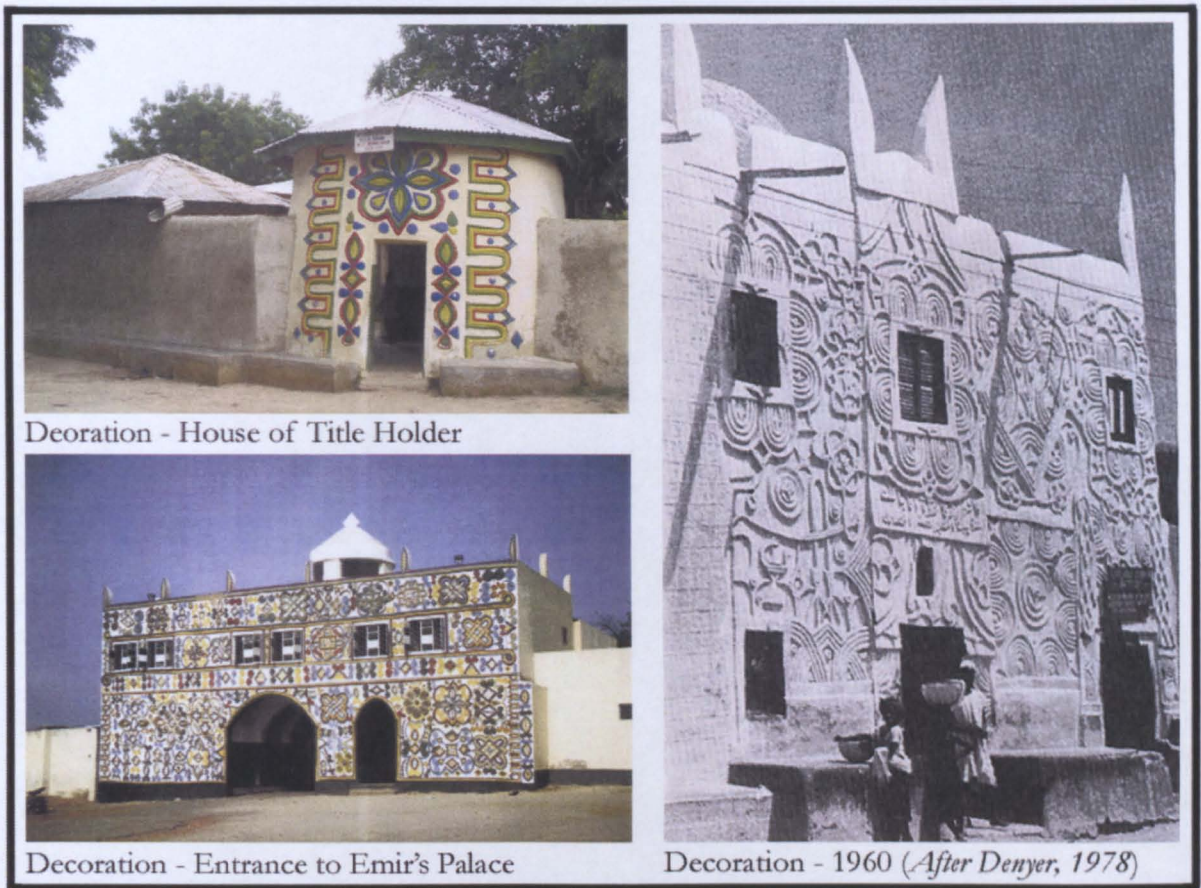


Figure 7-7: House decoration

hope of convincing anyone that he has made the grade. The car in Northern Nigeria is the status symbol par excellence and within that category there are gradations of status according to the size and make of the car. ...Next and only just in the value of status symbol comes a house. The occupation of a 'senior service' quarters by virtue of its immediate advertisement that the new tenant is a 'somebody' ...is a pre-condition of legitimizing new authority."

7.2.2.3 Norms, Values and Symbols in the Post-colonial Period

The systems of values, norms and symbolism essentially continued from the colonial for most of the post-colonial period with changes coming very subtly and in specific aspects of social life. The changes during post-colonial period are examined and thereafter a detailed examination of the situation in the contemporary city is carried out. The customary ways of dressing have not drastically changed (Figure 7-8). Customary dresses still constitute the norm in terms of dressing, even though they are sometimes shared with new western modes of dressing. The process of production of the customary dresses has however, been modernized with time. Attitudes towards female dressing gradually became relaxed from

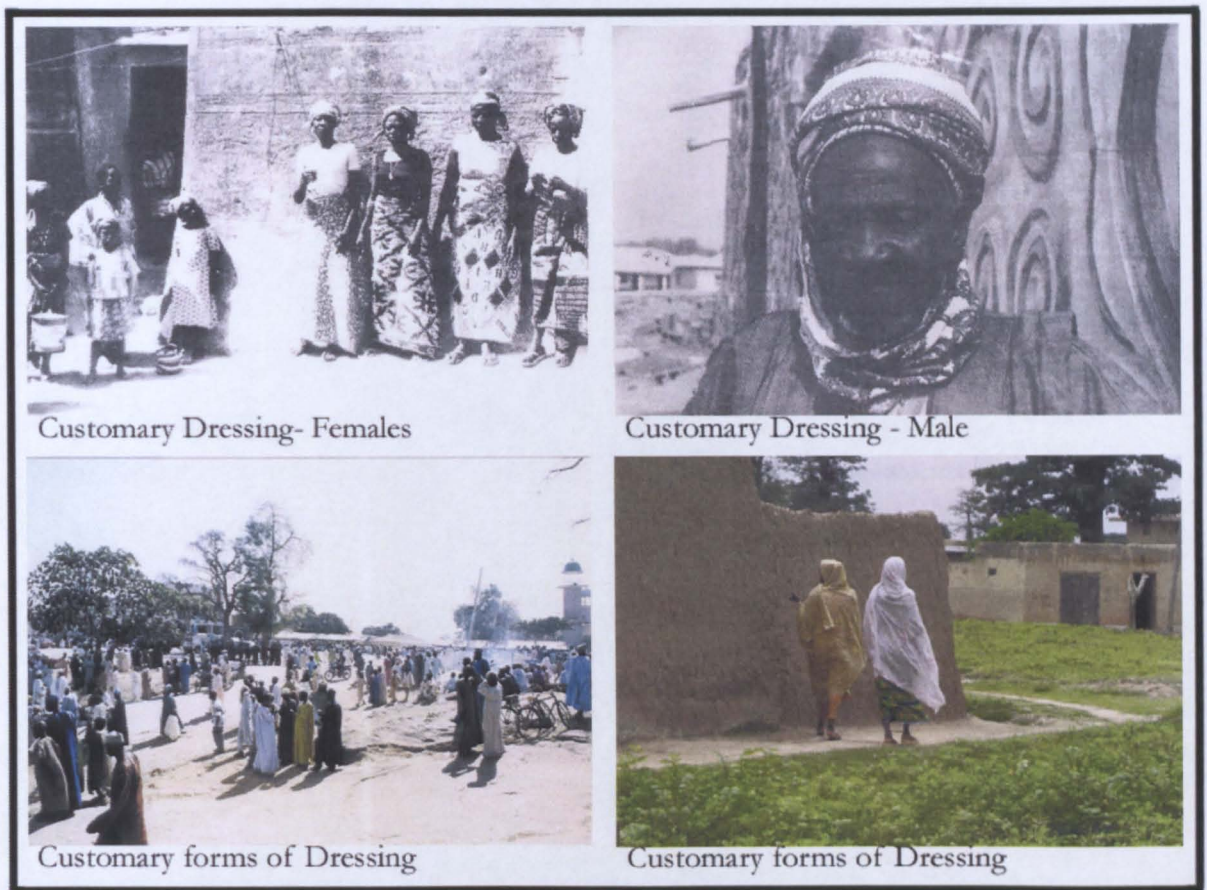


Figure 7-8: Customary dressing in public spaces

the 1980s. By the 1990s, many secondary schools in the city had developed a dress code which included trousers for girls, a situation that would have constituted a taboo practice in previous times. Dressing also continues to be a symbol of differentiation both across gender and social classes. Customary ceremonies such as naming and marriage ceremonies have evolved in new and modern ways, even though retaining substantial form from the past. The averseness of the people to technological change has gradually given way to acceptance and in fact to a desire for technological goods and development. New means of transportation, telecommunication and media services, utilities and infrastructure and new forms of entertainment and recreation are all now widely accepted and even desired. Traditional institutions, including titles and ceremonies evolved throughout the period retaining their value, with people still attached to them. The Eid celebrations actually evolved during the post-colonial period as an iconic representation of historic culture of the people of the city. Taboos especially against alcohol, gambling and prostitution and non-marital sex have continued in their essentially form, even though as will be discussed later, they are sometimes circumvented to avoid social sanctions.

Visible symbols in public space have also gradually transformed over the post-Colonial period. Multi-story building which has been scanty in the fabric in the previous periods, also continue to constitute a small percentage of the built fabric, but command attention and respect within the general population as an expression of social standing, prestige, and wealth (Figure 7-6). Exterior decoration which had become popular during the colonial period and continued to be during the early post-colonial period is now gradually disappearing and has lost its value. Decoration lost its status symbolism as new materials and methods of buildings rendered it obsolete. New materials also convey a sense of progress and value compared to mud. Cars are also viewed as a status symbol. There is a general increase in the value attached to wealth and economic power. At the beginning of the post-colonial period, it has been observed that location was evolving as a valued issue and that central location in the city was reserved for the rich who had bigger houses, while the poorer segment were located on the periphery of the developed fabric (Mama, 1966, p.38). This seems to be gradually changing as central areas lose their value to more open peripheral areas.

The examination of fieldwork data allows for a deeper examination of norms, values and symbolism in the current public space and urban fabric. Essentially value systems are still rooted in the Islamic religion. Examinations of practices indicate that customary traditional dresses are still valued and widely accepted. The gender based system of dressing with women in wrappers, blouses and headscarf and men in long gowns (*Doguwan Riga*) and trouser or big gown (*Babban Riga*), inner gown (*Yar ciki*) and trouser still predominate (Figure 7-8). Not only does it predominate, but the city has evolved as a well known centre for the production of a modernized form of these dresses and its embroidery. Embroidery on the dresses, produced either with hand or machines, is particularly valued.

Other items of value in residential quarters identified from the field work include wealth and economic opportunities, physical development- including houses using modern materials, presence of prominent people, and community harmony. Further discussion with people indicates that values are evolving with a stress on a desire for development. This desire is expressed in the subject of many discussions going on in public space. Important subjects that feature in such discussions include economy, unemployment problems, state of physical facilities and services, government inaction in addressing development and servicing issues. To a large extent these subjects reflect a complete change in values, from

one initially rejecting technical innovation and development to one now actively seeking such innovation and development. In the words of one of the respondents interviewed, at one time they were so anti new ideas that when bicycles were introduced, some people swept their tracks just to make sure that they had nothing to do with the new innovation. Now he points out, they are the ones seeking for roads and other amenities showing how things have changed.⁹⁹

Customary traditional political institutions are also still held in high value by the city's population. Activities linked to the institutions such as the Eid celebrations and other ceremonies are still attractive events to city residents.¹⁰⁰ Traditional titles are also still well sought after by people. The title of Emir conveys pre-eminent prestige and power, and the emir is still viewed as somehow being responsible for all that happens within the traditional city. Dalhatu and Hassan (2000, p.30) have observed that "traditional titles are much sought after today because the titles (*Sarautu*) carry a lot of influence and prestige in the eyes of the people. There is consequently a tremendous upsurge in demand for traditional title..." Title holding confers a sense of prestige and power, but it also comes with obligations to maintain the paraphernalia of office, which may include different forms of patronage as well as attendance at traditional events associated with kingship. It is, however, necessary to point out that despite the continuing relevance of the traditional authority system; it does not command the political, moral and religious authority that it had in the Jihad period. As Abdullahi (1986, p.9) further observes, "Traditional leaders, who were also custodians of religion, are no longer accorded the same level of importance, and there is a denial of the hierarchy of levels of authority among the people in today's society." Despite the declining influence of the traditional institutions, the customary system of differentiation in Zaria has retained its form with minimal changes. It is still based on prestige tied to title holding, wealth or employment status. Traditional craft occupations have substantially declined in importance and are now replaced by new forms of practices or occupations such as government workers, traders, modern tailors and embroiderers, with some having a higher prestige than others. People are also classified by education, which could either be western or Islamic. Usually people with Islamic education are respected because of the symbolic value attached to religion, while people with western education are respected because of their income earning potentials. Respect extended in respect of western education or occupation is generally increased in proportion to the wealth of a person.

Taboos also continue in the current period, essentially based on Islamic prescriptions. Reports, however, indicate that the taboos usually result in relativity in choices as a means of avoiding harsher social sanctions. Thus women sometimes opted for abortion, though morally reprehensible, than submit to the ridicule arising from the perception of the religious sanctioning of pregnancy prior to the weaning of a nursing child (Renne, 1997, p.10). Also the incidence of abortion among unmarried secondary school students is increasing, as a means of avoiding the social stigma and sanctions of unmarried pregnancy (Abdullahi, 1986, p.69; Renne 1997, p. 10).¹⁰¹ Closely related to the subject is the growing perception among the population of the decline in morals and discipline (*tarbiya*) in the society. This is sometimes associated with the proliferation of Hausa films, which became popular from the 1990s following globalization and the proliferation of affordable production facilities. Expansion in production and popularity of the films has, however, been accompanied by a growing perception in the society that it is contributing to the loosening of morals and values.¹⁰²

Symbolism in the public space of the current city is expressed in different ways, including through dressing, housing, new ideas and icons and in the prominence of individuals (Figure 7-9). Dressing serves as a strong symbol of differentiation in public space. Dressing can indicate whether an individual belongs to the cultural group or not, can identify his economic status and also his traditional holding status (Figure 7-9). Inferences on all of these can be made from the type of dressing, from the elegance and decoration of the dressing and from the particular ways that the dressing is worn. Houses have evolved in the city as strong indicators of income and position. Very wealthy people build elegant houses, sometimes very close to poor households, creating a sharp distinction that announces prominence. The style of architecture and building and the contrast in building highlighted in chapter 5, provide a means of distinguishing status by wealth. The old rich usually have houses of sand-cement blocks of one or two story high in the traditional courtyard pattern. The new rich usually occupy one or two story villas of sand-cement blocks, with many located in walled and gated compounds. Houses could be categorized into five groups as reflections of status in society- multi-story modern houses usually with colourful roofs, single story modern houses, multi-story houses in mud with zinc roofing, single story mud building with zinc roof and single story mud house with

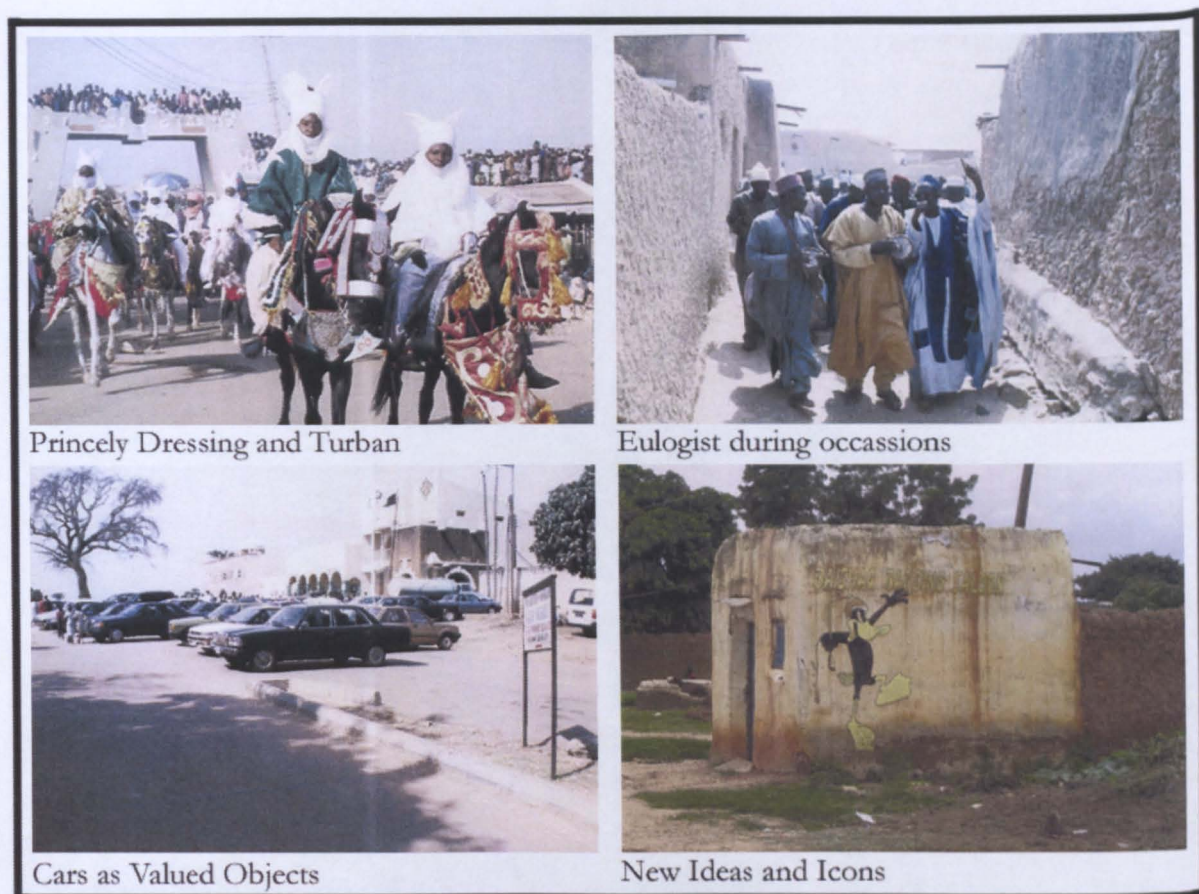


Figure 7-9: Symbols in public space

mud or thatch roof. Even within these categories there are wide nuances indicating variations in status within each category. Prominence also becomes entrenched when the names of owners of houses become a location reference point. This practice was widely observed during the field work with most locations named after the owner of a prominent house, or after a prominent person in the area.

7.3 The Role of Religion in Social Life

The Hausa cities started as centres of traditional religion focused on *bori* practices. Islam was introduced to the region in the 11th century and became institutionalized in the cities in the 15th and 16th Centuries. In the pre-Jihad period Islam evolved as a religion of the upper class, with the majority of the people combining nominal Islamic practice with traditional *bori* religious practices. The jihad changed the situation of the Islamic religion, elevating it to the centre of social and political life. This section examines the role that religion played in the various periods from the Fulani jihad. The examination shows a trend of improving knowledge about and growing interest in the Islamic religion, and a change in the nature of

its influence and role in social life. Towards the present time, it has also evolved as a source of division and conflict

7.3.1 Role of Religion in the Social Life of the Jihad Period

Religion was a central issue in the execution of the Sokoto Jihad and so it became a prominent issued in social and political life in the aftermath of the Jihad. The Jihad sought to institute a more puritan form of Islamic practice and to create a political system that was reflective of the religion and that embodies values of fairness and justice. The Jihad saw the Emir of Zaria, along with those of other Hausa states emerging as both political and symbolic religious leaders. The religion was also reflected in the institutions of governance. In Zaria, the construction of the Friday mosque, the shariah court and the palace in the same location embodied the ideal of the co-existence of political and religious leadership in the person of the Emir. This centre, the Dandali, emerged "symbolizing the power of Allah, Islamic law and government, state and community solidarity" (Moughtin 1985, p.67). It is also presumable that pre-Jihad Islamic and customary practices might have established the firm base for the evolution of the spatial organization of the built fabric. This fabric has evolved with residential neighbourhood organization and public-private interface heavily influenced by Islamic prescriptions. Socially, the Islamic religion also provided the norms and values that govern social action and existence. The Islamic religion specified the beliefs, boundaries of acceptable behaviour, and behaviours that are unacceptable and subject to sanctions. Institutions of the state, such as the shariah courts, existed to enforce such sanctions and ensure conformity. In many instances, thought, the threat of being socially ostracised and sanctioned was strong enough reason to ensure conformity. Religion specified the form of social institutions such as marriage and the right way of doing many things, including even decorating buildings.¹⁰³ The Islamic religion also specified gender roles and responsibilities as well as mode of dressing, all factors that impacted participation and presence in public space. One impact of the increasing role of religion in social life was the limitation and absence of women in the political institutions of state governance.

While the Islamic religion played a significant role in social and political life throughout the Jihad period, this role was not uniform throughout the whole Jihad period and across the whole strata of society. Also, though Islam was completely integrated into politics at the beginning of the Jihad period, the bond between politics and religion gradually weakened throughout the period, as competition for office among the ruling houses blunted

the role of religion in qualification for and exercise of the power of the kingship. Evidence also suggests that there was widespread illiteracy in both Arabic language and the Islamic religion such that many people practiced without the necessary education or just as a means of conforming to broader social practices. Throughout the Jihad period, Religious education appeared to have been elitist, with only a limited category of people, particularly the ruling class, generally better read in both religious knowledge and the Arabic language than the generality of the population. Clapperton (1828, p.214) observed this difference during the early part of the period, pointing out that the Fulani are better read than the rest of the population and the children of the better off among the Fulani are taught to read and write in Arabic. He also notes the male children of the great are generally sent to another town to receive their education. The children of middle and lower class families are sent to the local Islamic schools. Staudinger (1889b, p.65) also observes the general illiteracy, pointing out that "religious education ...is comparatively slight" and that people who know the Quran and Arabic were few and rare. He also goes on to point out in respect of the generality of both *fellatas* and negroes that "all they know about their religion is to repeat their prayers by rote in Arabic."

Clapperton (1828, p.222-4) in assessing the situation of religion during his visit, points out there is an overall appearance of religion but this appearance is clouded by lack of knowledge which is reflected both in practices and beliefs. Almost the same conclusion appeared to have been reached by Staudinger (1889b, p.65) in his commentary on prayer and other observances. Staudinger (1889b, p.45) also suggests that the privileges of citizenship of the state might sometimes have served as an enticement for conversion to the Islamic religion, with conversion entailing only the adoption of few outward formalities and in combination with the adoption of the Hausa language, leads to complete absorption and integration. He goes on to point out that "I have not found personal courage among the Hausa nor religious fanaticism, though a man may look down with disdain on the *kafir* and even on the European", suggesting a weakness of conviction among the generality of the population. This situation was also evident in the co-existence of Islam with pre-Islamic practices among the generality of the population. Moughtin (1985, p.55-67) has pointed to the retention of pre-Islamic building practices such as those of orientation towards particular directions or cardinal points. *bori* practices also survived and were in some cases even consulted by titular officials of state (Smith 1954, p.222), and was not forbidden by Islamic scholars (Smith, 1954, p.226). There were also beliefs in different types of

mythologies, and superstitions, as well the use of charms, amulets and divination by the book and beliefs in good and bad omens. (Clapperton 1828, p.222; Staudinger 1889a, p.138 & 1889b, p.69; Saad 1981, p.35)

7.3.2 Role of Religion in the Social Life of the Colonial Period

During the colonial period, the Islamic religion continued as the underlying force that provided the norms and values of society and guided individual and social life. Politics and religion were progressively separated during the period, as the shariah courts became institutionalized under British rule and the Emir lost most of his judicial powers. Symbolically, the emirs also lost their status as religious leaders. The settled nature of lifestyle during the period, however, saw an expansion in the scope of the influence of religion as people began getting educated and practice began getting more entrenched. Mosque construction expanded in the residential neighbourhoods providing a strong focal point for religion and interaction. Religious education also expanded, with education and many well known scholars becoming associated with Zaria city.¹⁰⁴ As the city became famous for Islamic scholarship, it attracted the very few migrants, who came to the city as students. The Qadriyyah and Tijjaniyah movement evolved as the most dominant Islamic sects in Zaria and the whole northern Nigeria as a whole. The expansion in religion during the colonial period did not do away with pre-Islamic religious practices and mythologies, particularly during the early part of the colonial period (Temple, 1922, p.570-1). Fieldwork interview sources indicate that practices associated with *bori* practices continued. Also instances of activities that are sanctioned and go counter to the dictates of the religion also continued, albeit in a limited and invisible fashion.

7.3.3 Role of Religion in the Social Life of the Post-Colonial Period

The post-Colonial period has witnessed a further strengthening of religion within the city. The practice of religion has evolved to not only be widespread, but also more fundamental and scriptural as a result of increasing education. Previously dominant Qadriyyah and Tijjaniyah groups have been replaced by new groups that promote a more scriptural approach to practices, with the *Izala* sect being the most popular. The increasing interest in religion has also resulted in the fractionalization of religious groups and to conflicts between the groups. The most violent conflicts have been between the *izala* sect, a strict Sunni religious order, and the Islamic Brotherhood led by Ibrahim El Zakzak, which is believed to be Shiah. As religion became more ingrained, rigid traditional values have also

been gradually relaxed. It has been pointed out that around the 1970s, it was impossible for a lady in Zaria to move about without the traditional wrapper and covered head. Any lady in trousers immediately becomes a spectacle with young boys stoning her and singing a derogatory song saying that a monkey is in trousers and a Cat has a cap (transl. *Biri da wando, magge da hula*). Such strict values have gradually become relaxed. Traditional religions, including *bori* practices, have almost completely disappeared, except as entertainment during times of cultural festivities such as marriages or political occasions. Myths, charms, amulets etc which used to form part of the coterie of individual protection have also gradually disappeared.

In the present time, religion is still a strong force shaping the public space of contemporary Zaria, with its influence manifested spatially in activities, symbolisms and in the material fabric of public space. Religion has virtually lost its influence and association with governance, in favour of a stronger influence on the individual and community. Religion plays an important role in establishing the operative norms, values and morality which governs the daily life of people along with the integral interactions that it entails. It also has a strong influence in the structuring of social roles and responsibilities. Religion is manifested socially in activities of a religious and symbolic nature. Religious practices also serve as a marker in the dynamic temporal social life of the society. It has also been found to significantly affect behaviours and attitudes and general social interaction in public space. It plays a strong role in identity construction. Religion is advanced as the single most important factor for connections both at the level of the city community as well as that of the broader Hausa cultural group. Religion is manifested spatially in material space in the form of religious spaces. These are usually located in the most active spaces of the city and are associated with deep rooted meaning in the people's lives. Hogben (1967, p.10) summarizing the impact of Islam in Hausa land, pointed out that it "started as a religion, but it later became a state, and finally a culture." It is appropriate to now say that it is becoming a source of division and conflict. As religious education continues to improve, differences continue to manifest between groups and to result in an unstable order that occasional ends in social disturbances between the groups.

7.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter examined Zaria's public space from a symbolic dimension. The examination shows that change has in general been gradual across all symbolic aspects, and that there is no any single identifiable overriding pattern of change across all the aspects. Rather each has evolved and transformed in its own unique way, with change manifesting differently across periods. Similar to what obtained with other dimensions of public space, the rate of change also tended to be faster in the later part of the post-colonial period.

In the case of significant places, two places- the Dandali and market, have remained significant over the course of the period studied, with a diffusion of other places that differ with period being significant with the two in each period. Symbolism and function were, however established as uniform determinants of significance across all periods. In the case of group identity, the basis for identity was found to have shifted from religion, ethnicity and place of origin to culture and spatiality as a source of localized identity, and a range of diffused broader identity. Attitudes and behaviour have evolved across all three periods from a complacent and compliant form to a current form that is more aggressive and embody a willingness to challenge. Norms and values throughout the whole period in question have their roots in the Islamic religion and in customary practices. Practices have however evolved in diverse ways reflecting the realities of each period. Similarly, religion has always played a fundamental role in social life throughout the period examined. The scope of influence in social life has expanded with time in reflection of the state of education and realities of the periods, while its role in political life has diminished with time, as it was progressively dissociated from political power. Some symbolic aspects such as norms and values and the role of religion in social life, have practices that could be linked to historic forms in the pre-Jihad period as the basis for the evolution and transformation of practices, while others appear to be autonomous from the period.

The overall conclusion from the chapter is that public space has witnessed a gradual change in the period from 1804 to 2004 from a symbolic perspective, with the change manifesting differently across the various symbolic aspects examined. This chapter concludes the examination of change in the three public space dimensions of material, social and symbolic. The next chapter examines the question; why did the public space of Zaria evolve in the way it did?

CHAPTER 8: EXPLAINING CHANGE IN ZARIA'S PUBLIC SPACE

"Each culture has its own public-private profile, which emerges from a complex set of factors resulting from the interaction of physical, social, political, and economic realities"
(Carr et al 1992, p. 23)

8.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the question why did Zaria's public space change in the way it did over the period 1804 to 2004. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents a conceptualization of the process of cultural transformation in Zaria, identifying the principal forces and currents in operation in the various historical periods. The second section links the forces of transformation with observed changes in public space to provide explanations of why public space is evolving in the way it did. The last section examines the overall research findings in relation to the research proposition and framework.

8.1 Cultural Forces Shaping Change in Zaria's Public Space

The search for explanations of why public space in Zaria changed in the way it did is focused on relating cultural transformation to changes in public space. As established earlier in the methodology, the cultural order of a period is manifestly expressed in political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society. Cultural transformation is therefore manifested in changes to these structures. The review of Zaria's history and cultural setting in chapter 4 shows that cultural transformation in the city is aligned with specific events, which also mark divisions in the history of the city. These events are the Fulani Jihad, the imposition of colonial rule and the granting of independence and self rule in 1960. In this section each historical period is viewed as a dominant transformation theme, which is manifested in particular patterns of transformation in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society. The Jihad, in this respect, is viewed as political change with symbolic undertone, while colonialism is associated with the preservation of a traditional order, and independence with the search for a stable order. This section examines each dominant transformation theme and identifies the associated forces of change within that particular period. The structural forces at play in each period are then used to explain and account for changes observed in public space in the period.

8.1.1 The Jihad as Political Change with Symbolic Undertone

The Fulani Jihad started essentially as political change with symbolic religious undertones. It was designed to produce the marriage of political and symbolic religious power that would result in a more just and egalitarian society built on an Islamic foundation. While this aspiration laid the initial framework for the change, it did not appear to have lasted very long. Mahdi (1984, p.184) notes that shortly after the Jihad was launched, "the ideal vanished, and materialism took the place of zealous reformism, and the whole movement soon degenerated into a catalogue of military takeovers of the traditional government of not only Hausa land but also of [other] ...Muslim and non-Muslim chieftaincies".¹⁰⁵ By the third emir of Zaria, political structures in Zaria had evolved essentially adopting pre-Jihad Habe structures and practices of government with some basic modifications and additions in recognition of the religious objectives of the Jihad. Gradually the systems evolved as a monarchical system with established ruling houses and elaborate structures of political offices which were handed out as a form of patronage. Political power also became synonymous with accumulation and the two became mutually reinforcing in establishing social position within the society. Accumulation also became strongly associated with slave holdings and with large farm holdings.¹⁰⁶ All of these developments had specific consequences for the society and their ways of life. Politically, the adoption of the Habe structures of governance meant that authority focused more on security and maintenance of the state with no stated development agenda. Customary political organization and administration did not include any form of municipal administration or development planning beyond maintaining security and defence arrangement. Power was concentrated in the Emir who became the most significant agent in political administration. As the sole monopolist of power he had privileges to dispense, which he uses to ensure his security of office, thereby propagating the system of patronage which evolved and was refined during the period.

The Jihad established Zaria as a member of a broader political entity. As part of the larger entity, security arrangements were more elaborate and safety better guaranteed creating the framework for improved interaction and migration across the caliphate. This impacted both the population of cities as well as the economy of the cities¹⁰⁷. Prior to the Jihad, there was incessant warfare between the Hausa city states and neighbouring tribes and states. The Jihad created a super state, improved defence cooperation between the Hausa states and

generally created conditions for urban life to evolve both at city scale and at a regional level.¹⁰⁸ The free migration and interaction of people during the period coupled with the Islamic undertone of the Jihad transformation also had a direct effect on people at both a personal and societal level. Certain practices became taboo, while Islamic religious practices became the accepted norm. Interaction provided for the exchange of ideas and practices, and together with migration created a sense of identity that operated at a much broader level than that of the urban area or capital city such as Zaria. All of these changes happened gradually but when viewed overall essentially resulted in the transformation of the Habe conception of traditional order into a new conception that is more diverse in the constitution of its social elements, broader in its contact with other ideas, and embodies a strong Islamic values system, even when the practice of the Islamic religious was at a very fundamental level. Thus by the end of the nineteenth century, the Hausa cities which had transformed to Hausa Fulani cities had in the course of the century developed an identity and traditional cultural ways of life, that thanks to visiting European explorers was widely documented and transmitted.

8.1.2 Colonialism and the Preservation of a Traditional Order

Colonialism initiated another wave of gradual transformation in the cultural ways of life of the Hausa cities. Colonialism also started essentially as a political transformation. The early colonial rulers were of the British upper-middle class and their Victorian- Edwardian views formed their colonial ideals. This ideal embodied a vision of Britain as custodian of civilization and justice, a view of society as an orderly hierarchy of class, race, and function with the nuclear family as the integral unit, the assumption of the usefulness of education, religion, medical care – even sport – as tools of the civilizing mission, and faith in progress as achieved by trade, industry and rapid communication (Urquhart 1977, p.25). Orr (1965, p.215) commenting on the objectives of British colonialism and the general attitude of European powers points out that, "what do we seek? We seek commercial advantage; we seek open markets; we seek to gather in our raw material. What have we got to give? We give the peace of our flag; we give care for the black man even in his relations to the white man; we give them the science we have acquired in sanitation; we give them the chance of raising themselves and advancing in the ways of civilization, while recognizing that for them the path is longer than for us".

The British colonizers took over the supervisory role of Sokoto over Zaria and its vassal states in a system of administration termed dual mandate. The British colonizers brought about changes to the established traditional order inherited from the Jihad period. Throughout the early part of the colonial period to the First World War, The focus on change by the Colonial Officers was on the maintenance of law and order, and the preservation of prevailing institutional structures of governance.¹⁰⁹ Towards the later part of colonial rule, changes were introduced in reaction to the increase in agitation for independence and the need to prepare member states of the Sokoto Caliphate for such eventuality through a regime of gradual incremental change focused on making the emirates "to accommodate the essential objectives, norms and practices of modern democratic local government without sacrificing their integrity or identity as traditional institutions" (Whittaker, 1970, p.75). Politically, they introduced the concept of efficient administration, undertaking several reorganizations of administration in both the capital city Zaria and of the Zazzau emirate as a means to improve administration. They introduced the concept of municipal planning and development and the provision of services and formalized the traditional system of extraction into an established municipal tax with administrators on a salary. Services including water, electricity and roads were expanded. British spatial planning led to the evolution of the metropolitan area and the diminished importance of Zaria at the metropolitan level. Ultimately, British decision-making led to Zaria being a part of broader regional political grouping at first and finally of Nigeria as a country. The British colonial administration stopped slave trade and also created a segregated system of settlements where all new migrants were directed to other spatial quarters in a bid to protect the identity of Zaria and its purported indigenous population with serious consequences on its population size and also its identity construction.

The British colonial administrator's introduction of educational institutions ultimately later created the first set of educated bureaucrats who were to man the public service at both the local government level and at the regional and national levels, thereby gradually reducing the importance of the traditional structures of governance. Economically the decisions of the Colonial administration to introduce a new export based economy located outside the city created a dual path of development for areas inside the city and those outside the city. Improved linkages however meant that the opportunities for participation were available to people inside the city, as long as they could leave their enclosed well. Symbolically, the

colonial approach to segregating the city ensured that they maintained their Islamic identity, but in the process, an identity of 'indigene' or original inhabitant with Islamic value system took hold and became the fundamental identity of the inhabitants of the city. From all indications, the system offered an opportunity for broad contacts and exchange of ideas but this was rejected in favour of a secluded life in the safety of established ways of doing things. Thus the economy of the traditional city, its values and internal structures remained static even when significant change was happening at the metropolitan level.

8.1.3 Independence and the Search for a Stable Order

Independence, though a national event, created a broad framework for transformation that impacted cultural life in Zaria. Nationally, independence led to a reorganization of the polity with a new political and bureaucratic class assuming the position of power. The immediate political crisis in the aftermath of the independence fostered a spirit of ethnocentrism across the polity with all component parts in competition for political power and control of resources. The oil crisis of the 1970s ultimately led to a flush of revenue, with significant impact on the national economy. Petroleum gradually became the single most important exports with other productive sectors of the economy declining. Imports increase, and education and wage employment expanded. There were also improvements in service provision, in communication and transportation. The fiscal problems experienced by the country in the 1980s following the conspicuous consumption of the 1970s led to wide spread poverty and loss of employment base. This generated further tensions and exacerbated the competition for power and control of resources.

While all of this was going on nationally, Zaria was caught between the need for change and the desire for tradition. All of the changes taking place nationally were reflected in the broader Zaria metropolitan context. Within the traditional city, the changes were however limited at the beginning. Political reorganization had resulted in loss of political power for the emir with the creation of independent local governments. The change did not however translate to a desire for efficiency and effectiveness in the management of development within the traditional city. With the loss of political power, the traditional institutions were transformed into symbols of cultural and traditional authority. The Tradition administrative structures created a system of patronage based on the award of titles to now powerful bureaucrats and politicians as a means of remaining significant and also acquiring access to the now national resources. Employment in the traditional city still remained largely in

traditional industries which were gradually rendered irrelevant by industrial goods. The few who were educated left the city to seek for employment outside the city. Investment in new economic activities was principally taking place outside the city. While values gradually changed to accommodate the new realities of life, the initial ambivalence towards change affected the development of the city and impacted cultural transformation in almost all spheres of life.

Since the 1980s, the world has witnessed unprecedented changes resulting from the spread of information technology and the globalization of industrial production. This global phenomenon has gradually become reflected locally within the traditional city and is impacting on cultural ideals and desires. The city has gradually become wired with access to international events and happenings through satellite and television broadcast. The net effect is evident in the cultural life of people in terms of activities values and symbols in public space. Globalization is now evident in the increased desire and call for transformation and access to opportunities and frustration with existing structures and significant agents for the failure to deliver such. Part of the impact of globalization is the improvement in religious education and contacts, which has led to demands for more puritan and fundamental practice. This demand is producing religious conflicts that have become common both locally in Zaria city and across many urban areas in the country. In general, the country has witnessed shifting instability in the post-colonial, starting with political, and thereafter economic and religious conflicts all happening in a regime of competition for power and influence.

8.2 Explanations of Change in Zaria's Public Space

This section accounts for observations about change in public space from chapters five, six and seven by seeking explanations from the cultural transformation process of the city. Observations about change in public space from the previous chapters are summarized in tabular form in appendix A.

8.2.1 Change in Material Public Space

8.2.1.1 Types of Public Spaces

Most public spaces found in the Jihad period have their roots in the pre-Jihad period. The city wall and its associated gates, movement spaces, production space, markets, some religious and natural spaces were all inherited from the pre-Jihad period as part of the

historic fabric of the city. The inherited fabric laid out the framework for the evolution and form of spaces in the Jihad period. The evolution took different forms for different spaces because of the differential operation of cultural forces of change.

With the exception of the closure of a gate, the gates and movement spaces retained their character during the jihad period, with change in the movement system occurring in the form of outward growth. The built form inherited from the pre-jihad period had an established structure and organization and so served to influence development in the Jihad period in the absence of major changes in the technical base of the society that would have resulted in the need for change. The pre-Jihad movement spaces inherited reflected the principal modes of transport; pedestrian and animals. The organic structure of the movement system was reflective of the gradual incremental growth of the fabric. The mode of transportation and the gradual incremental pattern of growth continued to prevail during the Jihad period and so meant that patterns continued without change. The gates also continued to serve their principal functions of control with no additional functional requirement in the Jihad period. The gate that was sealed was the one through which the deposed Habe ruler left the city. While there is no clear reason given for its closure, it may be deduced that the action was carried out as a means to consolidate the jihad and to also do away with any prospects of the rise of the gate as a symbol of resistance to Fulani rule. The central market of Zaria was also established in the pre-Jihad period. Prior to the Jihad Zaria was the established slave supplier to Hausa land and the market featured prominently in this role of Zaria. There was no substantial change in the situation of the market during the Jihad period other than the increase in its importance and rise as the hub of activities. This was closely linked to the central profile of Zaria as a trade transit point due to expanded contact, and also to the increase in slavery and slave trade with the market as regional hub of such trading.

Irrespective of whether it was the location of a palace in pre-Jihad times or not, the Dandali became established as a unique place in the history of Zaria during the Jihad period.¹¹⁰ Explanations for the evolution of the space can be directly linked to the need to consolidate power, both political and symbolic religious, and acquire legitimacy in the aftermath of the Jihad. Reports indicated that Mallam Musa established a new palace in its current location immediately after the Jihad (Urquhart 1977, p.14). He also initiated the construction of the Zaria mosque and Shariah court in the same location during the period. The palace fronting

the Dandali space established the political centre of the city and rooted the power of the new Emir in a particular place. The Friday mosque, located in the periphery of the space, provided legitimacy to political power by association and created a symbolic religious centre for the city. The developments together established the Dandali, as open space with palace, mosque and shariah court at its edge as the premier cultural space of the city. Once established activities of a political, cultural and religious nature associated with the space increased its significance in people's lives and so elevated its importance.

The other significant observations on types of spaces in the Jihad period relate to religious spaces other than Friday mosque, and entertainment spaces. Religious spaces were found to consist of both mosque and places for *bori* ritual activities, with *bori* activities declining with time and expansion of smaller mosque in fabric towards the end of the Jihad period. Explanation for the observations can be found in both the historic nature of practices and the fabric, and the rising profile of the Islamic religion in social life throughout the period. In pre-Jihad times *bori* practices co-existed with Islam, with the Islamic religion being a religion of the noble class. The execution of the Jihad and the institutionalization of Islam in both political and social life in Zaria from all indications led to a gradual repudiation of *bori* practices and the broader acceptance of Islam, and consequently to the expansion of mosque for daily observances in the fabric. Entertainment spaces and practices prevalent in the Jihad period were also inherited from the pre-Jihad period. While some of the entertainments such as traditional games and plays continued throughout the Jihad period without change, others such as gambling spaces and houses of prostitutes became progressively subject to disapproval with time in the period. This would have led to the increasingly hidden nature of the spaces and practices.

The colonial period saw a continuation of practice from the Jihad period, with changes focused on the strengthening of the Dandali as a place, expansion or modernization of facilities, including vehicular road construction, modernization of the market, the addition of institutional facilities and the introduction of recreational sports spaces. All of these changes were a direct result of the new world view and technical changes and actions that followed the introduction of colonial administration. The need to maintain law and order, provide services and introduce new technical innovations such as new systems of transportations, education and medical technology all underlie the initiation of development actions that led to changes observed. The Dandali thus witnessed the

construction of additional institutional facilities in the form of courts and dispensaries to maintain law and order and service medical needs of the population. Road development arising from introduction of vehicular transportation led to the rise of certain roads as centres of social life and activities. The round about created as a result of road construction served to unintentionally define the limit of the Dandali as a space. Also the creation of schools with their embedded recreational facilities introduced a new space and activity type to the city. Overall, the desire of the British colonial administration to ensure the preservation of tradition patterns of social life, coupled with limitations imposed by the lack of adequate staff to undertake radical restructuring of the society meant that changes were slow and gradual, and usually taking place as needed.

The post- colonial period saw three category of change affecting public spaces: first is in the expansion of space type, facilities and infrastructure, including vehicular road development, schools and other institutional facilities expansion with associated increase in the availability of recreation spaces, establishment of a new market and expansion of smaller markets in fabric; second is the change in the form of entertainment spaces from a focus on traditional games in play areas to new spaces centred around electronic entertainment; and finally decline in natural spaces coupled with the use of empty lots in the built fabric as play areas. Explanation for all the changes can be found in a set of inter-related forces from the post-colonial period. One of these is population increase. The post-Colonial period has seen a substantial increase in the population of Zaria, as a result of general improvements in medical and other services in the country. A product of this increase is the demand for services, facilities and building lots. The expansion of facilities including schools and other institutional facilities, markets and roads are all linked to the increased demand for spaces to accommodate the activities of the expanding population. Some of these aspirations were also a product of the increased regime of contact resulting from the gradual globalization of the world. These increased contacts are changing attitudes and leading to the acceptance of new ways of doing things. Thus the increase in the value of education accounts for the demand and expansion of schools spaces in the fabric as well as the rise of new entertainment spaces focused on electronic entertainment. The use of open lots in the built fabric as play areas, particular for football, also displays the influence of and adoption of new practices.

Closely paralleling increased contact in explaining change during the post-colonial period, is the change in the technical base of society. Expansion in vehicular roads and the rise in the importance of road spaces as focal spines for social life arise because of the change in the technology of transportation. From a pedestrian and animal mode of transport, there has been a gradual change from the colonial to the post colonial period in technology to mechanical means of transport. This change created a new ecology in the urban area leading to the hierarchical organization of road spaces, elevating some to a position of importance and creating hubs that became commercial areas. Also the gradual change in electronic entertainment technology with the introduction of the cinema in 1962, to television in the 1980s and satellite based systems by the 1990, closely accounts for some of the observation regarding the evolution of entertainment in the post-colonial period. Without taking into account the technological changes, it would be difficult to explain the evolution of such spaces. Finally, all of the changes in the post-colonial period have been occasioned by the availability of funding to support the creation of spaces. In this respect the rise of a national petroleum economy in the 1970s and the subsequent increase in public financing and in the income of households underlie most of the changes that was witnessed. The availability of income earning opportunities facilitated and made the changes a reality.

8.2.1.2 Morphology and Organization

Throughout its history, Zaria's urban space had been divided into two parts; a developed part and an undeveloped part or open natural space. The developed part of the city has had two space patterns that characterised all historical periods; a dense inner city pattern and a dispersed rural type pattern. The fabric had no zoning or functional differentiation, and was given form and structure through the organic movement system that crisscross it. Open public space enclosure in dense areas of the city fabric was by high compound walls enclosing one story house with a visual unity resulting from the use of common material and details of construction. In contrast, the outlying disperse areas has space defining and giving form to loosely arranged groups of building. The essential morphological character described was one that was embodied in the fabric of Zaria before the advent of the Jihad. It was therefore a structure and organization that was inherited from the pre-Jihad period. In the jihad period, changes occurred in the form of internal re-organization and outward expansion. This process saw the built part of the fabric expanding with time resulting from expansion of population, and also internally reorganized as population contracted and new

buildings were erected or old ones abandoned and allowed to disintegrate. Part of the process of internal reorganization also saw an increase in *soro* type building that was reflected in enclosure patterns. The retention of patterns from the past can be explained from the point of view of the lack of change in the technical base of society during the Jihad period. Technologies of transport, construction and general production essentially remain constant. As a result there was no any significant push to evaluate or change practices. In certain exceptions such as construction which saw an increased mastery of the art of *soro* construction, this was reflected in changes in the fabric, even though the material and essentials of construction technology remained the same. The pattern of outward expansion and internal reorganization observed could be directly linked to the growth of the city's population over the Jihad period and also to the likelihood that population might have fluctuated as a reflection of security situation and migration patterns, thereby contributing to development and abandonment within the built fabric.

The variety of changes observed in the built form of Zaria during the colonial period included the introduction of the planned space pattern, dominance of the dispersed pattern, evolution of vehicular roads as strong organizing armature in fabric, changes in enclosure pattern resulting from the increase in 2-story construction and changes in enclosure treatment resulting from increase in decoration and adoption of new materials and technology of construction. These changes can be explained by looking at the inter-related effect of a number of transformation forces. The introduction of the planned space pattern in the city was a direct product of colonialism. It is colonialism and its associated practice and ideals of planning and design of facilities and also the introduction of new materials and technologies of construction during the period that gave birth to such facilities as the CMS grammar school, which is among the first planned facilities in the city. The prominence of the dispersed pattern of development could be directly linked to the population of Zaria in the Jihad period. Zaria witnessed a decline in population to about 13,000 in 1918 from estimates of up to 80,000 in the Jihad period. This decline was a product of the colonial policy of diverting immigrants to newer district of the metropolitan area, as well as the policy of ending slavery, which saw a great amount of emigration from the city with emigration sometimes propelled by the availability of new more prestigious jobs in places outside the traditional city. The net effect was that population shrank and the fabric was loosely developed creating a virtual dominance of the dispersed pattern.

Evolution of roads as strong organizing armatures during the colonial period is linked to the change in the technological base of society in the period. The vehicular car was introduced and became accepted, and integrated into the array of cultural goods. To accommodate its use, roads had to be created giving rise to road development. The expansion in two story constructions resulting in changes to enclosure patterns can be linked to the expansion of new economic activities in the overall metropolitan area and the rise of a merchant class. It is this merchant class that is held to be responsible for such constructions hence its prevalence in the vicinity of the market. The expansion in the scope of decoration and introduction of new building materials and technologies of construction to the city during the period is also directly linked to the emergence of this class. Prosperity resulting from the new economic activities provided then with excess income to invest in housing as a reflection of their new status. Such investment, especially in the case of new materials, was occasioned by the introduction of new materials and technology of construction from a broadening of contacts and markets and the introduction and acceptance new technologies and ways of doing things. This change was also facilitated by the poor performance of mud coupled with the relatively better performance of the new materials.

In the post-colonial period the significant morphological changes witnessed included an increase in the coverage of the dense space patterns from 1970, the establishment of a new city area space pattern with its altering of both the traditional pattern of structural organization and the form of residential neighbourhood design, new road construction influencing structural organization, and adoption of new materials with attendant effect on visual character of the urban enclosure. The increase in dense space pattern is a product of population increase. Better service provision and improved healthcare facilities all resulting from improved public finances and private sources of income all contributed to the expanding population. The population of the traditional city jumped from 13,000 in 1918 to more than 166,000 towards the end of the century. This increase needed to be accommodated within the fabric thus accounting for the increase in the dense pattern. The increase in planned patterns is also a factor of the population increase and improved public finances. The population increase created an expansion in demands for services and this was provided in the form of schools, medical and other institutional facilities leading to the increase in planned facilities.¹¹¹ New road construction which has restructured the organization of the fabric could be linked to the change in the technical base of the period

and also to improved public finances and servicing. The increasing acceptance and use of vehicular transportation created the need for the provision of the roads, which was effected because of improved public finances and availability of structures to provide such. The change in the visual character of urban enclosure of the period was the result of the expansion of a trend which had started from the colonial period. The trend was fuelled in this period by the expansion in the wage earning class, by the availability of new materials due to import expansion and also the better performance of the materials in comparison to mud. These factors pushed people to adopt the new materials and house form proportionate to ability and accounts for the wide contrast that has evolved in the pattern of urban enclosure.

8.2.1.3 Production and Management

The Basic Jihad pattern of public space production and management has the Emir as the most significant agent in space production, followed by judges and city residents. Three types of ownership prevailed in the period; private, public and government. Private domains were produced principally through informal self-help process and contributed in defining the bulk of open public spaces in view of it's occupying the largest proportion of built fabric. Public facilities were produced either through communal labour or through the use of expert labour at state expense. The Emir exercises some control over some public and government facilities, even though there was no established process for management and servicing. Other public spaces were managed by communities and individuals who used them. This essential form of production and management appears from all indications to have been inherited from the Pre-jihad period with just one difference; that the role of judges had been strengthened during the jihad period as adjudicators in land matters thereby raising their profile as contributors to the definition of the form of the city. This is supported by the fact that the Fulani rulers adopted wholesale the administrative practices of the Habe rulers they deposed and this was clearly reflected in development patterns and forms which are essentially also a continuation of patterns from the pre- Jihad period. The Habe practices had no conception of development planning and intervention or provision of public services. Rather the focus of administration was on security and order, and necessary extraction to ensure the maintenance of public security and order.

The colonial period saw agents of the colonial administration taking over as the most significant agents in space production. The period also saw the elevation of merchants and

elites as significant agents in the process. The use of expert labour was introduced to private domain production, while the public sector saw the establishment of specialized government agencies to oversee public space and facilities production. The period saw some form of planning and administration introduced in the form of expenditure budgeting. The Native authority was also established as a servicing and managing agency for public sector activities and facilities. Despite the establishment of the agency, however, no systematic process of planning and development was instituted thereby limiting impact. Developments in the period are linked to colonialism and the values, ideals and limitations with which colonial agents approached administration. By virtue of the defeat of the Sokoto Caliphate, the colonial agents were immediately propelled to a supervisory role over the development of the Caliphate cities and this automatically gave them supervisory and veto power over the emir. Combined with the civilizing mission of the whole colonial project, aimed at rationalizing and improving native administration, both social and spatial (Smith, 1960, p222-3; Orr 1965, p.215), this raised the level of significance of the agents in the determination of the form of cities. The elevation of merchants and elites to significant agents in space production arises from their role as carriers of change in physical development, which sees them adopting new materials and methods and in this way influencing values and practices in the city and the evolution of its general visual character. The expansion in the use of expert labour in production was occasioned by the progressive adoption of new building forms and technologies of construction which required expertise beyond that provided by self help.

The whole system of public planning, institutional structures of governance and services provision and the introduction of yearly budgeting and planning was initiated by colonial agents in furtherance of the goal of civilizing the population and introducing them to the improved science and services of the Europeans. The whole ideal was however limited by the availability of manpower resources to oversee the implementation of colonial schemes. The concept of 'indirect rule' was a product of this shortage of manpower to undertake a more aggressive regime of political engagement. This shortage of resources led to the reliance on Emirs and on a Native Administration with a focus initially solely on the maintenance of law and order and later towards the middle of the period on development. The Native Authorities, however, evolved more or less reflecting traditional practices of patronage with a high degree of inefficiency and corruption. The system did not also

evolve to support the institution of a systematic process of development planning and administration.

In the post-Colonial period, the Zaria Local Government Council (Zaria local council) along with other higher hierarchies of political administration have evolved as the most significant agent in the development of the city. This is the result of the re-organization of the polity that happened after independence, which saw the Emir losing political power and retaining only a symbolic importance. The new structures of administration have authority from legislation and a legal basis for overseeing the development of the city. The Zaria local council is charged with overseeing physical development in the city as well as providing basic municipal services. The Council also has control over physical development. The State government and the federal government have the power to provide facilities and infrastructure at the lower level and, in the case of the state, also has the power to oversee planning and development. This it does through a specialized urban planning board. In actual practice, despite these elaborate structures, there is a high degree of ineffectiveness, which means that practically very minimal development intervention occurs. The minimal intervention means that development control is weak and citizens are free to undertake physical development without any form of supervisory control. This explains the primacy of informal process of development in the city. It also explains the ad-hoc state of the regime of planning, management, and servicing of public facilities and spaces. In most case in fact, management of facilities such as schools is left to agents responsible for such institutions and because of inadequate resource allocation, the facilities end up in a state of disrepair, with people who use public facilities and spaces forced to maintain such spaces and facilities.

The lack of an adequate regime of planning, management and maintenance throughout the period of Zaria's history examined is what accounts for the widespread amenity problem that is witnessed in the city. The lack of effective structures means that development problems are not addressed, thereby leading to their accumulation and to the gradual degeneration of the amenity of the urban area as the limited islands of beauty also join the desolate state of the other parts of the fabric. This is what accounts for the refuse, drainage and visual character problems of the contemporary city.

8.2.2 Changes in the Social Dimension of Public Space

8.2.2.1 The Social Character of Public Space

The Jihad period evolved with a social character that was unique to that period. This character consisted of a diverse population in terms of ethnicity and place of origin. The population was spatially organized along ethnic and occupational lines. Public spaces were essentially a male domain but with some female presence and participation which is structured along age and social status lines. Males of all age groups were present in public space though participation by higher social status males was limited. Towards the later part of the Jihad period, social character evolved to be more homogenized around the Hausa culture. The general diversity of the population in the Jihad period is linked and explained by the free nature of migration during the period occasioned by the improvement in security and the supra-national structure of the Sokoto Caliphate. There was freedom of movement and trade not only across the city states of the Caliphate, but across the whole Sudan (lovejoy 1980, p.52-3). Thus people came from as far away as present Senegal to participate in the Jihad in Zaria, while descriptions by explorers such as Clapperton and Staudinger show connectivity in traffic and movement from coastal areas and Borno to the various parts of the Caliphate. Combined with the movement of slaves and the significant proportion of slaves in cities, all of these ensured that no city had a completely homogenous population. Spatial organization was occasioned by the need to identify with a particular lineage or ethnic group, or with an occupational guild.¹¹²

The gender and age character of space operating in the period is a product of both inherited customary traditions and the Islamic religion. The society is historically a patriarchal agrarian society with an underlying semi-Islamic symbolic value system. This inherited tradition embodied a social and cultural order in which men engaged in functional activities and women were left to take care of the home. Within this order, men engage in manual farm work and other income based activities, which are usually labour intensive. This traditional arrangement was inherited during the Jihad and was adopted and further influenced by the elevation of religion in social discourse and practice to account for the current gender and age arrangement noticeable in public space in Zaria, and in the other Hausa cities. The low presence of higher social classes in everyday activities in public space could be explained from the perspective of their lack of need to engage in functional activities at the level of the everyday spaces. Being of a higher class, they are people with a higher level of accumulation, who earn income from accumulated capital rather than in

subsistence economy. It is also partly a result of the concept of their status (*Daraja*). Engaging in mundane everyday functional activities would make them to loose their status and standing in society. This limits their participation to only occasional appearances. The homogenization of the population witnessed towards the end of the Jihad period can be explained by the assimilative nature of the Hausa culture. The prevalence of Hausa language as the principal lingua franca of the cities, coupled with ease with which the culture assimilates and integrates account for the gradual homogenization and loss of identity that characterised the end of the period.

The colonial period saw changes in the form of increase in the seclusion of middle class women, the decline in the sharpness of the visibility of patterns of diversity in public space and the continuation of the increased homogenization of the population. Explanation for the increased seclusion of the middle class women has been associated with the expansion of income opportunities in the period and rise of the prestige of being able to provide for a secluded wife, making it unnecessary for her to participate in public activities. The decrease in the visibility of patterns is associated with the decline in the city's population in the early part of the period. The drastic drop in population meant that the city was sparsely populated, creating a situation where the identification of patterns became more difficult. The continued homogenization of the population is the result of the continuation of a trend from the Jihad period. In the colonial period, this trend would have been enhanced by the colonial policy abolishing slavery, which enabled the exodus of the part of the city's population that did not identify with it. This would have hastened the process of assimilation and homogenization for the remaining population. Examination of the post-colonial period shows a pattern that is essentially a continuation of what obtains in the colonial period. The only outstanding difference is that by the post-Colonial period, the society of the traditional city had become completely homogenized and was distinguished from others who live outside the city in the broader metropolitan area. This may be associated with the isolation of the city and its perception as a different world by residents of the broader metropolitan area. This perception is reflected in image studies in the metropolitan area, which shows the traditional city being associated with religiosity, Hausa identity, indigenous people and Islam (DURP 1979, p.22).

8.2.2.2 Activities in Public Space

The principal types of activities found in the Jihad period include functional, cultural, religious social, entertainment and recreation activities. Each activity type had unique forms of practices associated with it. The types of activities noticeable in Public Space of the Jihad period were, from all indications, an inheritance from the pre-Jihad period. In the pre-Jihad period, they were a product of the subsistence pre-industrial nature of the society. Subsistence economy was based on farming, trading and craft as principal functional occupations. These were manifestly reflected in public space as dominant activities. Cultural and entertainment activities were also visible. They were visible as functional activities for those practicing it, as well as entertainment for their audience. The integration of entertainment into the arena of functional activities arises because the subsistence nature of the economy and cultural practices and tradition do not provide for free leisure time to cater separately to entertainment.

During the Colonial period, there were very minimal changes in the nature of social activities. This lack of change could be associated with continuity of cultural life in the traditional city, in contrast with new cultural forms being introduced outside the city. The minimal changes that occurred such as the gradual disappearance of *bori* and taboo activities and the adoption foreign practices in ceremonies could be explained by looking at the situation of the period. The settled life and social homogenization that occurred in the period along with the rise in religious awareness and practice would have led to stricter social codes of conducts resulting in sanctions that would have led to gradual conformity leading to the decline of non-Islamic practices. Also the expansion of urban districts that harboured others with different cultures and codes of behaviour created room for the taboo activities to move out to other districts, with the city increasingly identified as Islamic, while contact with the 'others' living outside the city might have influenced practices and led to the start of the change in some practices witnessed. The introduction of new activities in the form of recreational sports and political activities were all by products of changes introduced as a result of colonialism. Recreational activities was introduced with the introduction and expansion of western education, while political activities was a product of the need to accommodate the broader trend towards self government that was happening at the national level at that period in time.

The later part of the post-Colonial period witnessed the most significant changes in activities. There was a gradual change and modification of practices that saw some dying out, replaced by new forms and some substantially changing form. Entertainment and craft production activities, for instance, gradually disappeared and were replaced by new forms. Social activities including marriages and other ceremonies evolved with practice taking place in modified forms. Trading as an activity became more widespread. The changes taking place within the period could be directly related to cultural changes taking place in the period. Most of the changes could be linked to the oil boom of the 1970s which made the country richer. The oil boom led to an expansion in the production and importation of goods and in the availability of services and opportunities. This unleashed a gradual process of change which saw people adopting new products and ways of doing things. Changes rendered the traditional method of craft production untenable and so gradually led to its dying out in Zaria. Most of the modernization of practices witnessed was associated with the availability of new opportunities and contacts which facilitated change. The lack of employment arising from the dearth of traditional crafts forced people into trading. This became more widespread following the liberalization of the economy in the mid 1980s. The liberalization reduced the value of the local currency, led to runaway inflation and led unemployed people to adopt informal trading activities as a way to earn income and livelihood. The expansion of sports and entertainment were gradual events that started with the establishment of the Cinema in the city. The introduction of the cinema provided a means of entertainment hitherto not available and attracted many young men. Attendance at the cinema on the other hand enabled people to establish contact with other cultures and people. In the 1980s, satellite broadcasting was introduced but did not achieve widespread coverage until about the 1990s when satellite became common and entertainment facilities proliferated. Sports became popular both as a product of the national leagues, nationalism resulting from international competitions and, of recent, from the fantastic offers to football players that has served as a motivation for many youth.

8.2.2.3 Daily Biography of Public Space

Zaria has witnessed a gradual change in the typical pattern of daily life in its public space. The Jihad period saw the establishment of a pattern of daily life in public spaces that has prevailed and gradually transformed into contemporary patterns. The daily biography of the Jihad period shows a pattern that focuses on day time activities, with mixed use spaces usually consisting of a dominant activity and subsidiary ones, and limited night time

activities. Explanation for the pattern is found in the pre-industrial development state of the society. As earlier explained Zaria had an economy that was essentially a combination of agrarian, craft and trading activities. Spaces that host these principal activities were the focal point of daily functional life and so attracted a significant proportion of the people in the day time. Because they are points of concentration, they also attracted secondary activities in the form of hawkers and entertainers, thus creating the pattern that was witnessed. The subsistence pre-industrial economy also explained why functional activity is concentrated during the day time period. Social character is structured by norms that are discussed later under symbolism. Changes in the pattern of daily biography by season were a factor of the pre-industrial nature of the society. Operations by the season enabled the society to maximise agricultural and craft outputs, through the optimal allocation of time.

The colonial period witnessed minimal changes in daily biography that included the extension of activities into the night, the gradual disappearance of moonlight activities, evolution of the Dandali as centre of activities and the dying out of activities as part of daily life. The gradual extension of social non-familial activities to the night during colonial period was a factor of improved security and service provision. Improved security meant that people felt safe to move about in the night without the prospects of the inherent dangers that prevailed during the Jihad period, particular slave raiding and opportunistic enslavement. Electrification and service provision by the colonial government that started during the period also contributed to the gradual extension of activities. Another plausible reason is that the predominance of others at the metropolitan level subjected the residents of the city to other world views and to the questioning of their myths and mythologies about the night. Coupled with improvements in Islamic learning, this might have gradually led people to push their activities to the night. The introduction of wage employment and other employment may also be another explaining factor. Non-farm employment freed people from the rigours and routine of farming and craft production, thus enabling them to have the free time to stay up later than usual. A set of people may also be attracted to activities that were sanctioned within the city. Thus gamblers or rousers who are wont to visit houses of women would find the evening and the night very attractive for such and this might have contributed in stretching activities to the evening. The combined effect is that activities were extended into the evening. The general extension of activities on the other hand might have diminished the importance of moon pattern in structuring social

activities and thus led to the diminishing association of traditional plays (*wasa*) with the moon patterns.

The rise in the importance of the Dandali as a centre of activity, could be linked to development action initiated during the colonial period, including the concentration of institutional facilities in the vicinity of the space, road construction, which served to further defined the space and probably the association of the location with new structures of administration, including Europeans. These would all have attracted people in fulfilment of their curiosity or out of a desire to just chat and interact.

Developments in the daily biography of the post-colonial period are the cumulative result of several factors, but most importantly of the trend towards modernization and integration into the global productive framework. Seasons lost their importance as shapers of daily biography as the pre-industrial agrarian economy transforms to a semi-industrial economy with new functional activities and sources of income. It is also related to improvements in services, including the availability of electricity and security. The changes in functional activities and servicing situation, along with the growth of Zaria's population and the unemployment and poverty that resulted from structural adjustments in the economy in the 1980s accounts for most of the other observations about daily biography of the period. These include the expansion of places as commercial areas and markets, activity decentralization and expansion of secondary activity centres within the fabric, and extension of activities into the night.

8.2.3 Changes in the Symbolic Dimension of Public Space

8.2.3.1 Significant Places of the City

The examination of place significance shows that the market and Dandali have consistently remained the most acknowledged significant places throughout the period under study. Various other spaces have evolved with lower levels of significance at different periods. Currently, there is a diffused acknowledgement of significant places with Dandali and Market widely acknowledged, followed by some gates, and thereafter many other diffused places. The overall examination of place significance shows that two principal factors act as determinants; symbolic importance and function. Symbolic importance arises from the meaning that is associated with the palace, while function relates the opportunities for participation in activities in the place. From this perspective it becomes possible to

understand why both Dandali and market have remained as significant places throughout the period in question. The two are viewed as centres or representation of power in the society. The Dandali is symbolic of a combined political and symbolic religious power, while the market is a symbol of economic power. Political and economic power are viewed as mutually reinforcing in the society and are a source of respect and enable the extension of patronage and allegiance from the society. Apart from their symbolic attributes, the two places were also active places for social life and cultural activities. The mutual reinforcement of symbolism and function would have contributed in making the two places evolve as the most significant places in the city. Some spaces such as Gates may also have acquired their significance from both use and symbolism. As the main entryway to the city, they are in constant use and provided a reference on access to locations within the city. They also have symbolic importance as boundary markers and as defensive outpost.

The recent diffused nature of place significance in the city can be associated with the trend in the decentring of activities. As activities become decentred in response to increase in population and demand for activities, the sphere of influence in people's activities gradually became smaller and localized. As people's activities become localized, the identification of significant places also becomes localized as defined by function. Attempts to, therefore, solicit response on significance of places leads to the identification of so many places making it difficult to identify any significant pattern out of responses than to associate it with function.

8.2.3.2 Group Identity and Connections

Identity in the Jihad period was essentially built around two factors; caliphate and ethnicity, with place of origin as a secondary identifier. Caliphate identity was also synonymous with religious identity, as religion was the basis of unity and belonging. It also served as the basis for the linkage of the group with other Muslim groupings elsewhere. Ethnicity on the other hand saw people grouped according to ethnic origin. Explanations for the Caliphate identity and the role of religion in the definition of such identity can directly be traced to the religious basis of the Fulani jihad. The Jihad was a political revolution with a symbolic undertone. It aimed to free the people from oppressive political rulers and institute an Islamic political system which promotes justice and fair rule. The Jihad though started by the Fulanis, ultimately united a diverse set of people and provided religion as basis for belonging. Socially, the Muslim was elevated in status (*daraja*) over the non-Muslim, thus

providing a motivation for joining. As a result of the unity and peace brought about by political association within a broader political group, movement was facilitated and blocks of different ethnic groups aggregated in different cities. In Zaria, the Nupawa, Zabarmawa and Yoruba were represented and had spatially distinct neighbourhoods in the city. The homogenization of identity, as with social character earlier discussed, stems from the assimilative nature of the Hausa culture. The Fulani and other smaller ethnic groups could not withstand the assimilative capacity of the Hausa language and culture. Therefore by the end of the Jihad period, Identity along with social character had started metamorphosing into a homogenised grouping based on Hausa culture.

Inter-related developments regarding identity in the colonial period saw the city emerging with a strong spatial identity along with more homogenization around the Hausa culture, decline in other identities and, towards the end, the emergence of a regional identity. All of these developments could be linked to the colonial policy of segregated spatial development. The development of other urban districts and the segregation of the population according to place of origin saw the residents isolated and confined to the traditional city as 'Natives' while 'others' lived outside. This segregation appeared to have engendered a feeling of spatial identity associated with being an indigene, compared to the 'others' outside who are not indigenous to the locality. This development might have facilitated the homogenization process and also led to the decline in ethnic identity as the Hausa culture with its assimilative power provided a unifying umbrella. Towards the later part of the post-Colonial period, constitutional development and the creation of political institutions that advanced prospects of self rule also raised the spectre of domination by people of southern Nigeria, in view of their higher standards of living and better mastery of politics and administration. This led to a rally for unity across northern Nigeria as a means to fend off this group, thereby leading to the emergence of a unifying identity, albeit political, as 'northerners'. One consequence of the development was that the Caliphate identity which had declined with the advent of colonialism was resurrected and provided the leadership for the political activities and struggles of the period.

The post-colonial period has seen the development of a strong local identity in the traditional city centred on synonymously being indigene of Zaria, Hausa-Fulani, and Muslim. At the broader level identity shifts and varies depending on situation but revolves around state of origin, caliphate, northern Nigerian and Nigerian. These identities become

meaningful when viewed from the perspective of the heterogeneous nature of the country and the competition for power and influence in a broader national setting. The operational elements of cultural identity are motivated by the need for people to fight for resources within a national setting, which seeks to ensure equity in access to employment and in the distribution of resources. The narrow identity that developed is a factor of the need for survival in a broader metropolitan area and within broader regional and national political arrangements. The fight for opportunities, resources and power pushes the need for residents of the traditional city to be identified as original settlers and thus eligible representatives of the city in competition for whatever position or resources is allotted to the city. Caliphate identity has declined and lost significance because of its lack of any structural means of articulating unity or a common position in this struggle. Currently, it appears that the local identity is being challenged and contested. This identity was strengthened by social bonds and supports systems within the traditional city which ensured that everybody is taken care of. The recent breakdown of social cohesion is a result of people questioning the status quo in which the elite class uses their roles as representatives of the city in the competition for resources to enrich themselves at the expense of the majority who are living in abject poverty.

8.2.3.3 Behaviour and Attitudes

Actors in Zaria's public space have evolved with characteristics that could be grouped into three; personal attributes, attributes regarding relations with others, and relations with the state. In all the three categories, there is a clear suggestion of behaviour and attitudes that were complacent and mild. The explanation for this can only be found in the historical process of socialization. It appeared that socialization and social reproduction has emphasized these attributes, probably with foundation in religion. These attributes have evolved without significant change in view of the lack of need for it. People have been socialized, for example, to view political administration as a projection of power and a means of extraction, but with no association with development intervention. So authority was revered because of its power and feared in view of its police and incarceration powers. Alghazali (1967, p.11) has also observed that in the Northern Nigeria society, conflict is generally considered as inherently bad and therefore to be definitely deprecated.

These complacent attitudes and behaviour are currently changing in ways that show discontent and disaffection and also results in actions that challenge authority. The

explanation for the current situation can be found in the examination of the relationship of the individual to the society. Socialization and social reproduction have always been mutual processes that are beneficial to all. As the individual socializes and reproduces society, the structures of society also provide all the necessary safety nets that nourish and protect the individual. Changes in attitude and behaviour results from changes occurring in the fundamental structure of society as the system of production and relations of production change. The social group is disintegrating to individual wage earning working class families. In the process, Abdullahi (1986, p.40-41) points out that the society is undergoing a fundamental shift as people are moving away from a society built on self in relationship to the unknown in a religious setting, to one in which the self is viewed in relationship to a material environment. Individuals are, in essence, being transformed to have a material outlook on life. As this happens, attitudes and behaviours are changing and shifting from obedience and cooperation to anomie and uncertainty and to the actions that are currently being witnessed in public space. Some of these actions are also related to the lack of opportunities to fulfil material dreams and achieve desired lifestyles. Population growth and the lack of any system of providing employment or access to opportunities is creating disaffection and drastically changing attitudes. Unfulfilled demands for basic services such as education, water, electricity, and refuse disposal coupled with better awareness about alternative lifestyles all contribute towards the current situation. Economic liberalization and the associated devaluation of the local currency occurring since the 1980s might also have exacerbated the poverty situation and motivated the rapid change in attitude that is being witnessed.

8.2.3.4 Values and Symbols in Public Space

Patterns of change with regards to norms, values and symbols show a gradual change from the Jihad to the post-Colonial period. The period was characterised by the presence of norms and values with roots in customary practices and the Islamic religion. The norms and value system specify bounds of behaviour and taboo prescriptions. Customary practices embody the right way of doing things. The roots and explanation of the form of the norms and value system of the period can be established through linkage with inherited practices and also with the elevation of the role of religion in social practices following the advent of the Jihad. Many of the customary practices and provisions that were practiced in the Jihad period were also embodied as part of broader regional cultural practices and some of these practices were already heavily influenced by religion and association with people

from the northern part of Africa. The Jihad period saw a continuation of the customary practices, with the practices modified to correspond more to religious requirements as a result of the elevation of the social position of Islam following the Jihad. Thus customary practices like gender roles, modes of dressing and social ceremonies were also continued but modified where necessary to accommodate religious requirements. Religion also provided the norms and prescribed taboo activities which governed the social life of the Jihad period. Almost all the taboo activities had a religious root. Despite the taboo prescriptions, evidence as was shown pointed to a continuation of such practices. This may be related to the fact that the activities originated from the pre-jihad period when religious prescriptions were not strictly observed and such activities were probably accepted.

Prominent values associated with the jihad period, including title-holding, dressing and general beautification could be accounted for with different explanations. Title holding in the jihad period was the principal means to accumulation. People valued traditional titles because it provided them access to income and wealth and the ability to offer patronage. Income and wealth provided access to traditional titles and to housing that is reflective of status¹¹³. The mutual reinforcement of political and economic power, meant that both were simultaneously sought for in the society as a means of projecting importance. Dressing and general beautification may also be associated with the need to differentiate and project status, currency or just beauty as a value. Buildings were also significant symbols in the period. They, like dressing, are also a means of projecting power and a tool in the competition for influence and position. The greatest projection of power and symbolism was associated with the Emir's entourage. The entourage of uniquely dressed escorts and eulogist, musical sounds and decorated mounts accompanying the emir was a symbol and projection of ultimate power in the society. The practice appeared to have its roots in war preparations of pre-jihad periods. The practice was abandoned in the early part of the Jihad period when rulers were viewed more as Islamic scholars than political leaders. Progressively, however, it appeared that the practice was adopted by the Jihad leaders as ruling houses became differentiated, competition for the position of Emir increased, and occupants of office sought ways to project power and defuse intrigues that might lead to the loss of power.

During the colonial period, Norms and values continued rooted in the Islamic religion and customary practices. As is evident from chapter 7, there were few gradual changes that

occurred over the period. One of these relates to the beginning of changes in customary practices such as marriages. These as earlier observed may be directly related to the expansion of the city and the settlement of people with unique practices from other places in the broader metropolitan area. It is practices associated with these new settlers that provided the alternatives that served as the basis for the modification of practices in the direction witnessed. The presence of these 'others' outside the city also accounted for stricter values such as those regarding female dressing in view of the perception of loose morality associated with these 'others' and the fear that it might be imported to the traditional city. Another change was in the rise and value of western education. Western education achieved value mainly as a source of income and consequently of prestige in the social hierarchy. The western educated also became carriers of change and symbols of modernization. Artefacts and items associated with them such as cars and service quarters became immediate items of values by association and as a reflection of the prestige and status of the holders of such items. Despite the new source of power, evidence showed that there was still a desire for traditional titles. This could be explained by the fact that such titles in general still confer additional prestige, even when it was no more associated with accumulation. The western educated were among the seekers of titles as a means of additionally projecting their status in society.

One of the unique changes of the colonial period was in the introduction of new building materials, technologies of construction and forms of buildings and the associated values and symbolisms associated with such changes. The *soro* building emerged as a popular building type followed by expansion of house decoration, and the introduction of new construction materials and forms of buildings. These changes were all popularly valued and associated with the symbolization of a high status. The value associated with changes in building practice could be associated with improvement in technology and the durability of the new materials and construction technology. The *soro* building type in this respect is a technical improvement on the thatch roof building that preceded it, while cement block and zinc roofing constructions are superior in technology to mud construction. Superiority in this respect refers to both technical performance and maintenance requirements. The status symbolism associated with the practices may be linked to their limited affordability and association with a particular class of people that included nobles, merchants and the new educated wage earning class. Decoration for example became very popular as a sign of

status in the society. Decorated houses indicated wealth, and the extent of decoration was symbolic of relative wealth.

The post-Colonial period has witnessed the most significant re-organization of the norms, values and symbolic system of the traditional city. The post-colonial period can in general be said to be a period of active on-going social discourse that is re-examining, reshaping and modernizing the values of the society. The fundamental roots of the system in religion and customary practices remain but with a different emphasis. Religious knowledge has expanded and is leading to demands for more puritan forms of practice. Closely associated with this is a process of the re-evaluation of customary practices that seems to differentiate religious based injunctions from non religious ones. The process has seen certain ways changed and new ways of doing things adopted. Dressing and the method of its production has drastically changed. Ceremonies such as naming and marriages now have modern forms and technological changes have been accepted in terms of transportation, services and education, and are now actively sought rather than despised as the white man's innovation. Telecommunication, mass media, utilities and entertainment are now widely accepted. Football and other sports have become established in the society. Many businesses are being set up in activities like food processing and similar small scale industries that are based on the use of modern machinery. Visible symbols in public space have gradually transformed as the society reorders its value system. House decoration and traditional mud construction as symbols of status have declined in importance. Modern villas and bungalows are now viewed as expressing status in housing. New materials also convey a sense of progress and value compared to mud. Dressing still serves as a symbolic differentiator between genders and between the title holder, the rich, the Hausa and the non-Hausa. Cars are also viewed as a status symbol, and there is a general increase in the value attached to wealth and economic power.

The explanation for the post-colonial situation can be found three forces that appeared most significant in shaping change: improved contacts and exposure to new ideas, practices and alternative lifestyles: expansion in education and the proportion of the educated class and increase in religious education. The post-colonial period has seen an expansion in contact with others and exposure to many new ideas and practices, including those of other Islamic countries, all creating a push for modernization. Such contacts have been facilitated by improved transport linkages, and by electronic media, including television, radio and film.

Contact has expanded exposure to ideas and is changing the world view of the people and leading to the re-evaluation of practices, the acceptance and adoption of innovation and their valuation, and in the process to a redefinition of the norms and value system. The expansion in education and the educated class has been a major enabler of the change process. Education and educated persons have evolved as the principal symbols and carriers of change. This group, particularly the youthful components of the group are clamouring for change and adopting it and are more willing to abandon traditional practices in favour of new modernized forms. They are motivated in their acceptance of change by prevailing social problems that include economy, employment, physical development, the issue of municipal services, government inaction and general physical development. These issues form the dominant themes in most discussions in public space and to a large extent portend to a redefined symbolism in the city. In the words of one of the respondents interviewed, at one time they were so anti new ideas that when bicycles were introduced, some people used to sweep out the tracks of the bicycles just to make sure that they have nothing to do with the new innovation. Now he points out, they are the ones seeking for roads and other amenities showing how things have changed. Change is also being facilitated by an expansion in religious education. The post-colonial period has seen a fundamental shift in religious education from an emphasis on ritual practices to a fundamental understanding of the religion and the Arabic language. This education is leading to the re-evaluation of the religious basis of customary prescriptions, injunctions and practices, and is leading to the evolution of norms and values and associated symbolisms in new ways.

8.2.3.5 The Role of Religion in Social Life

Examination shows that religion has been a part of the social life of the society even before the Jihad period. The Islamic religion was practiced and played a role in social life during the pre-Jihad period. The Islamic religion was elevated to the centre of social and political life and served as the main reason for political change during the Jihad period. This role of religion affected both political and social life. Emirs emerged in the aftermath of the jihad as both political and religious leaders, and religion was reflected in the institutions of the state particularly in the judiciary. Religion also evolved as the fundamental source of the norms and values of society and, along with inherited customary practices, determined the reality of social existence. The Jihad and its religious basis explain the elevation of religion in social discourse. The Jihad provided an opportunity for political change to install a

puritan religious regime. There are arguments that the jihad was just political change, and that religion only provided a justification.¹¹⁴ The religious basis of the Jihad led to the manifestation of religion in political institutions and facilities of the state. The generality of the people that identified with the political change that followed the Jihad also embraced the religion, making practices widespread. But because educational opportunities were limited, only the elites were versed in the tenets of the religion and so the majority of the city's population were left either practicing ignorantly, or performing a hybrid practice of Islam and their traditional beliefs and mythologies. Hence traditional religion was practiced along with the Islamic religion during the Jihad period as part of the continuity of inherited practices.

The Islamic religion continued as the dominant force ordering the social life of people in the Colonial period. There was a decline in its role in political life, resulting from the progressive decline in the role of emirs as religious scholars and leaders which started from the Jihad period and continued into the colonial period. This change was expedited by the actions of colonial administrators, who sought to modernize administration by clearly delineating responsibilities and powers, gradually leading to the independence of the judiciary. The colonial period saw the expansion of the scope of religion to all the population and an expansion in religious education. The city became a center of Islamic religious education and spatially, mosque development increased and they became the focal point of neighbourhood social activities. All of these developments can be linked to the incorporation of Zaria into the Colonial system. Colonial policy promoted the isolation of non-Muslims outside the city and sought to preserve the Islamic heritage and image of the traditional city. The focus given to religion coupled with isolation appeared to have increased the significance of religion and led to improvements in both its practice and education. Improvement in practice and education gradually led to the emergence of Zaria as a centre of Islamic learning.

Changes occurring in the role of religion in the post-colonial period are tied to certain significant developments in the period highlighted earlier as part of the discussions about norms and values. One of these developments was the expansion in contact. Contacts with the outside world through travel, pilgrimages, and pursuit of scholarship all led to an appreciation of the need for knowledge and re-evaluation of the role of religion in social life. Combined with improvement in both western and Islamic education and the rise and

increasing importance of Zaria as a centre of Islamic education, this has led to the entrenchment of religious practices in the city. Seclusion might also have contributed to the trend of entrenchment. Another contributor was the rise of Islamic groups, whose aim was to educate people and reform their practice. The movements, which started in the 1980s with the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Universities, was characterised by an aspiration for political change in the country and the institution of a religious based political order. The formation of the group served as a catalyst and led to the formation of many other groups, with the most notable being the *IZALA* movement. The *IZALA* movement was established with the aim of improving education and returning people to fundamental scriptural practice. All of these developments contributed in entrenching religion and in the process facilitating the gradual disappearance of non-Islamic practices in the traditional city. The fractionalization of groups which occurred after the 1980s was a prime result of the increase in contact with the outside world and of competition for power and influence. Improvement in contact has led to exposure to diverse and competing religious ideologies. These competing ideologies have been imported by various groups, leading to alignments in the city and across the country. These ideologies sometimes place the groups in conflict either with the general society or with other groups producing the flash point that results in the frequent crisis witnessed in cities.

8.3 The Research Findings in Relation to the Research Propositions and Framework

This section examines the research findings in relation to the three propositions set out in chapter three to test the validity of the framework, and also the general theoretical conceptions embodied in the model and research framework. The section is divided into two parts, with the first part examining the overall findings of the research in relation to the propositions, while the second part examines the findings in the context of the research framework.

8.3.1 The Research Findings and the Research Propositions

Three propositions were put forward in Chapter three as a means to qualitatively test the validity of the framework. The propositions state that Zaria's public space has changed in the period from 1804 to 2004 AD, social culture has transformed in Zaria in the period from 1804 to 2004 AD, and that a relationship can be established between the cultural

setting of Zaria and its public space patterns and practices to account for and explain changes observed in public space in the period between 1804 and 2004 AD.

Examination of the research findings shows that there is general support for all the three propositions. The examination of the three public space dimensions of physical, social, and symbolic carried out in chapter five, six and seven respectively shows that individually, each dimension has changed and transformed in diverse ways over the period of the study and that taken together collectively, the findings support the proposition that Zaria's public space has changed in the period 1804 to 2004. Collective examination of the findings shows that change has been gradual and incremental without any broad distinct unifying pattern. Examination of change shows that forms and practices were in most cases rooted in pre-jihad forms, based on which they have evolved and changed to their present form. The overall examination of change also shows that it was slow and by accretion from the Jihad to the early post-colonial period and that since then it appears to have assumed a much faster pace.

The examination of Zaria's history also shows that social culture has witnessed substantial change and transformation in the three historical periods examined thereby supporting the proposition of cultural transformation in Zaria in the period 1804 to 2004. Cultural change in all periods was found to have started with political change as a dominant event and to have gradually led to substantial changes in all other structures of society. The Jihad started as political change which gradually translated into changes in the social, economic and symbolic structures of society. Colonialism and independence were also changes that had similar effect. The process of culture change has seen Zaria transformed from being a vassal state of Sokoto and a sovereign centre of regional administration and trade, to being part of an indirectly administered colonial holding, and finally an urban district distinguished by tradition and history in a broader and more connected metropolitan, national and global setting.

The study was also able to link cultural transformation with changes in space to account for the way public space has evolved in the period 1804 to 2004. From examination carried out in this chapter, it was possible to account for every incidence of change or lack of change observed in the examination of the public space of Zaria by linkage with concurrent forces resulting from cultural transformation to derive explanatory theories for observed situations. In doing so, the study was able to account for all the changes observed and

therefore provide an explanation on why public space has evolved in the way it did. The ability to do so indicates that cultural transformation can be used to account for changes in public space, thereby supporting the third proposition. The support of the three propositions validates the framework of the research as an instrument for examining public space.

8.3.2 The Research Findings and the Research Framework

This section examines the research findings in relation to the research framework. The section in particular examines the implication of the findings in terms of the conception of public space as material space with a social and symbolic dimension, the role of social culture in the examination and explanation of public space, and the role of time in the examination of public space and social culture.

8.3.2.1 Public Space as Material Space with Social and Symbolic Dimension

The findings of the research support the approach to and conception of public space as material space with a social and symbolic dimension. Using such an approach the study was able to undertake a broader examination of public space that facilitates a deeper understanding of issues and practices than would have been possible if the study had been limited to a single dimension or aspect of it. The outcome of the use of the approach is therefore in line with expectations as outlined in the literature. There is, however, an important observation that needs to be stated in respect of the use of such an approach. There is the need for simultaneous rather than autonomous treatment of the dimensions when using the approach. In the particular case of this study, the need to organize the findings to facilitate a clearer identification of changes led to its organization by dimension. A closer examination will however reveal that the dimensions are not inherently autonomous, as space classification is inherently related to social activities and symbolisms or that diversity cannot be discussed separately from the symbolic basis for connection and identity. There is therefore a general need for simultaneous treatment rather than autonomous treatment of the dimensions in studies of public space.

8.3.2.2 Social Culture and Public Space

The findings of the study establish a strong support for the relationship of social culture to public space. An examination of cultural transformation and change in public space in Zaria in the period studied shows that in each historical period, changes in public space can be directly linked to broad cultural changes taking place within the society in that period.

Thus closer examination will reveal that the Jihad, Colonial and post-Colonial cultural transformations that occurred in the city can be mapped directly to changes that were observed in these periods. The changes observed in public space in each of the periods would be difficult to explain if they are divorced from the cultural settings and events of the period. Taken together, the findings support the assertion of a strong relationship between social culture and public space and that culture provides a powerful means for explaining why public space in any particular location is evolving in a particular way. This has implication for theorising, in that our theories relating to public space must be found to be robust against different cultures before any attempt can be made at generalization. Thus attempts in the literature to, for instance, generalize a theory such as that of the public sphere will only be valid if it can be tested against all cultural environments, otherwise it may be operational only in relationship to the specific cultural environment that gave rise to the theory. There is also the need to undertake interpretations of public space practices within the perspective of cultural environments. The recent trend towards the privatization of public space widely reported in the literature, for example, could only be understood if viewed within the perspective of the current trend of globalization.

The findings from the study of Zaria's public space also support an open systems approach to social culture. All the three major events that precipitated cultural transformation in Zaria originated from forces acting beyond the immediate locality of Zaria. The Fulani Jihad was a product of regional movement for the institution of a puritan form of Islam in West Africa, colonialism was a global movement, while the agitation for independence on the African continent following the end of the Second World War was what led to the independence movement in Nigeria. The findings show that social culture must always be approached from a broader open perspective, whereby local practices are influenced by events and activities occurring at broader levels.

8.3.2.2 History, Social Culture and Public Space

The findings of the study support the importance of history in the conception of and approach to the examination of public space. In the particular case of Zaria, examination shows that public space has dynamically evolved with time, with forms and practices in any period built on ones in the period before it. Thus forms and practices from the pre-jihad period evolved and changed into Jihad period forms and subsequently into colonial and post-colonial period forms and practices. In dynamically evolving, some forms and

practices are retained while others are abandoned creating what has been termed "the dynamic coexistence of different social and spatial forms" (Madanipour 1996, p.38-9). The dynamism in the evolution of public space in Zaria, however, raises the issue of what constitute tradition in the context of its urban and public space practices. A closer examination of the nature of change would tend to resolve this dilemma of definition. The findings of the study suggest that the concept of tradition in respect of Zaria and the other Hausa cities is generally associated with forms that were observed and recorded by the many explorers and visitors to the region during the late jihad and early colonial period. These forms were the result of the accretion, accumulation and assimilation of practices from the pre-jihad period through the Jihad to the early post-colonial period. Accretion and assimilation usually built on and complemented practices and so led to a linear progressive development. From the late colonial period, traditional patterns were exposed to a new world view, which has seen evolution in a radically different direction. Thus construction technology and materials have changed, as have social forms and institutions as well as political institutions and arrangements. These changes have led to a gradual abandonment of forms and practices accumulated from the past, as the pace of change increases, gradually producing the feeling of rapid change and loss of character that is associated with the current growth of Zaria and other Hausa cities.

8.4 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter examined the question of why Zaria's public space has evolved in the way it did in the period 1804 to 2004. The search for the explanation of change focused on relating changes observed in the material, social and symbolic dimensions of public space with the cultural setting of each period and the different forces in operation in the transformation of social culture to account for why specific changes have occurred in they way they did in each period. The chapter established that it is possible to conceptualize a process of cultural transformation in the history of Zaria. Cultural change and transformation was found to generally start across all the periods with a significant political event that served as the basis for the gradual transformation and evolution of inherited cultural forms within the period. Cultural transformation in each period resulted in changes to the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society, which provided the basis for seeking explanations to why public space evolved in the way it did. By linking observed changes in public space with forces from cultural transformation, it has been possible to provided explanations for each incidence of change or lack of change that was

observed in the three public space dimensions of material, social and symbolic over the period covered by the research. Putting all the changes observed and their associated explanatory accounts together, it has been possible to explain and account for why public space evolved in the way it did in the period 1804 to 2004. Overall, the observation support the conclusion that culture has transformed in Zaria in the period being studied and that forces resulting from cultural transformation in any period do provide a means of accounting for changes observed in public space in that period.

This chapter concludes the examination of change in Zaria's public space. The chapter sets the stage for the presentation of the conclusions of the study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 The Research Findings and Conclusions

9.1.1 Overview of the Research Objectives and Method

The thesis examined change in the public space of Zaria in the period from 1804 to 2004, with the objective of identifying how public space has changed and why it has changed in the way it did. The framework developed for the research approached public space as a multi-dimensional entity. Public space is viewed as material space with a social and symbolic dimension situated within cultural settings, with both public space and society in a process of dynamic change with time. A model unifying all the conceptual issues was developed using structuration and time geography as an integrating framework. Based on the model, an operational framework was developed for examining public space and the research questions identified. The approach of the research focused on exploring and identifying change in public space by exploring and identifying changes in the physical, social and symbolic dimensions of public space, and for explaining change by relating change in public space with cultural transformation as manifested in changes in the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society. Three propositions were expounded as logical derivatives of the application of the research framework and to test its validity. Proposition one states that there was no change in Zaria's public space in the period from 1804 to 2004, proposition two states that culture did not transform in Zaria in the period between 1804 and 2004 and the last proposition states that there is no relationship between change in Zaria's public space and cultural transformation in the city in the period from 1804 to 2004 A.D. Negation of any of the three propositions would question the theoretical assumptions of the framework.

9.1.2 The Research Findings

9.1.2.1 What Changes have Taken Place in Zaria's Public Space?

The study found that during the period covered by the research, public space in Zaria has changed in diverse ways in its material, social and symbolic dimensions. Change in most cases involves the transformation and evolution of inherited forms in ways that see addition to and, modification or complete abandonment of practices.

From a material perspective, the study found that public space has witnessed the evolution of space types from pre-jihad forms with changes occurring in the form of additions, subtractions, modification of practices and the strengthening of particular places. The Dandali for example was established during the Jihad period and has evolved as an important space in the city. Traditional *bori* and entertainment spaces have declined with time while recreation sports spaces introduced during the colonial period have become widespread. The prevailing types and distribution of space patterns as well as morphological organization of spaces have changed over time. Morphologically, while the integrating movement pattern has remained fairly constant in structure, its form has changed along with changes in enclosing elements and surface treatment. The process of public space production and management has changed slightly, but still largely retains practices from the past. The city has witnessed changes in the role of agents, with the emir who was once the most significant agent in the city's development now reduced to a symbolic figure. The amenity situations of public spaces have in general declined.

From a social dimension, Zaria's public space has witnessed the evolution of social character with a fairly stable pattern of access across gender and age groups. Males across all age groups were the dominant actors in public places, having unlimited access to both places and activities. Females had limited access to public space, with restrictions varying according to age, marital and social status. Diversity has in general declined with time across ethnic lines as the population developed a perception of homogeneity. Activities have evolved over time with changes more in the form of practices than in the evolution of new activity types. Evolution has seen activities such as craft production and traditional *wasal* and entertainment dying out while new ones such as recreational sports and electronic entertainment introduced. The pattern of daily biography has also evolved retaining some form but also changing substantially in certain aspects. Aspects where changes are most noticeable are in the temporal organization of time, the expansion of activity centres, in the extension of activities into the night and in general reflection of changes in social character and in form of practices. The seasons have particularly evolved to play a lower role in social life.

From a symbolic perspective, the Dandali and market have evolved as the most significant places in the city with a host of other places complementing in the different historical periods. The basis of identity has shifted from religion, ethnicity and place of origin to a

localized place identity and shifting broader identity varying with situation. Attitudes are becoming less complacent, while norms, values and symbols have changed in ways that accommodate new ways and artefacts, with the trend generally towards modernization. Religion has evolved playing a central and increasingly significant role in social life

9.1.2.2 Why Have the Changes Taken Place in the Way They Did?

The explanation for why the changes in Zaria's public space have taken place in the way they did was established by linking cultural forces operating in the city at different historical periods with the changes observed in public space. Culture change and transformation was found to have generally started across all the periods reviewed with a significant political event that served as the basis for the gradual transformation and evolution of inherited cultural forms within the period. Cultural transformation in each period resulted in changes to the political, social, economic and symbolic structures of society, which provided the basis for seeking explanations to why public space evolved in the way it did in that period.

In the Jihad period, the Fulani Jihad was the main event that engendered cultural transformation. The Jihad subsequently led to changes that included the institution of monarchical rule, rise of a competition for office, slavery, the institutionalization of Islam and expansion in trade, contact and the free flow of ideas that characterise the period. Forces resulting from these changes combine to account for changes observed in public space during the period. Among the specific changes are migration patterns, population size, diversity and identity construction, establishment and significance of places such as the Dandali and market, increase in the importance of Islam and its manifestation in institutions, practices, norms and, spatially with increase in number of mosque in the fabric, as well as the decline of *bori* and some traditional entertainment practices and spaces. The imposition of colonial rule was the principal event of the colonial period. Some of the changes engendered by the event included exposure to new values and symbols, abolition of slave trade, indirect rule and the regime of segregated spatial development, expanded opportunity for contact and trade, and the introduction of western education and a new system of local administration. These changes, among others, created the forces that shaped change in public space including the introduction of vehicular roads, and institutional and education facilities, with their attendant impact on space patterns, activities, and symbolisms in the city. In the same way, independence, which is the main

event that characterised the post-colonial period introduced changes in the form broadening the sphere of social existence into a national one, rise of a political elite class, rise of national competition for resources and influence, the restructuring of the organs of governance, new consumption regime, change in the focus of the economy and expanded regime of service and education provision to the citizenry. All of these, along with other changes introduced, have served to influence social life and the structures of society and to account for changes observed in public space during the period. The expansion in population and built space of Zaria, changes in space patterns, new forms of enclosure and treatment, and new forms of identity and symbolisms could only be explained and accounted for by association with forces in operation during the post-colonial period.

By linking observed changes in public space with forces from cultural transformation in each period, the study has been able to develop explanations for each incidence of change or lack of change that was observed in the three public space dimensions of material, social and symbolic over the period covered by the research. Putting all the changes observed and their associated explanatory accounts together, it has been possible to explain and account for why public space evolved in the way it did in the period 1804 to 2004.

9.1.3 General Conclusions and Implications of the Research

The examination of the findings of the research along with other general observations supports the advancement of four general conclusions. The first conclusion is that the nature of change in the city has been gradual and incremental, with change manifesting in diverse forms in the different aspects and dimensions of public space. Second that change has generally been slow for most of the period studied, with a perpetuation of practices between historical periods, but has assumed a more rapid pace in the later part of the post-colonial period starting from around the 1970s. Third that the faster rate of change in the later part of the post-colonial period is doing away with the character traditionally associated with the city and resulting in less attractive forms. Finally, the examination of change shows that the city has never had any significant comprehensive intervention aimed at upgrading and improving the city's urban environment and public space throughout the historical period examined.

The general findings have some significant implications for the future of the city. The rapid nature of current growth and the gradual erosion of character means that Zaria stands to

lose its unique character unless concerted action is taken to manage the process of change and transformation. Material urban forms and other tangible and intangible heritage stand to be lost to the forces of change unless action is initiated. The results of the study, however, show that the management of change and development in the city is in a poor state. Visible problems in the fabric of Zaria, such as the poor state services provision, amenity, and unemployment problems, all indicate the lack of effective management. Unless action is taken to address the management problem and address urgent development needs, it is very likely that growth and change will overwhelm the city. Problems such as the availability of basic infrastructure including water, electricity, drainage, and sewage system, servicing problems such as those of cleaning and garbage collection and disposal, the stagnant burrow pits and their health implication, problem of fast population growth and the attendant development demand, inability to management physical growth and development, and unemployment with its attendant social implication and problems will likely continue and produce forms that will not be desirable.

9.2 Recommendations for Managing Change in Zaria's Public Space

This section advances recommendations for improving Zaria's public space aimed at addressing problems, creating a pleasant, healthy and memorable public domain, and improving the management of change to ensure the preservation of the city's traditional character and its sustainable growth and development.

The persistent problems of garbage collection, stagnant pools associated with burrow pits, and drainage in Zaria's public space need to be urgently addressed to create a pleasant and healthy public space and generally improve its amenity. There is also an urgent need to address the issue of latent demand for public social and entertainment facilities such as gathering areas, recreational sports areas and cinemas, with special attention on the needs of the younger segment of the population and the female gender. The existing situation points to an urgent need to initiate a program of intervention and service provision that addresses problems and issues. Such a program must aspire to address service delivery, particularly garbage collection and general cleaning, the reclamation of burrow pits and drainage problems in a comprehensive way and across the whole city. Programs of intervention and service provision should also be complemented by the provision or upgrading of urgently needed public facilities that are currently visibly lacking. All efforts at intervention and improvement in services and facilities provision must also be backed by

a systematic improvement in the regime of cleaning and maintenance of public spaces and facilities. Improvement in the regime of management and maintenance must involve spelling out in a clear way, the responsibilities and obligations of agents involved.

There is a need for strong action to address the erosion of traditional character and the potential for its total loss inherent in current patterns of development. In this regard urgent action is needed not only to preserve material forms and structures, but also intangible heritage in the form of historical ways of life and doing things. Preservation must aspire to solve problems of the city by building on its strength, such as building the economy of the city on event and image marketing and the production and marketing of traditional artefacts. It is strongly recommended that consideration be given to the declaration of Zaria as a historic city and heritage site. This will lead to the application of accepted global practices in the management of the city's growth and development. It is recommended that any effort aimed at designating Zaria as a heritage site must be accompanied by the formulation of appropriate guidelines to control development and guide growth and change. In formulating the guidelines, there is a need to have a clear recognition of what constitute heritage elements and patterns in the public space of the city and to undertake appropriate studies that identify the underlying principles governing the importance of such elements and patterns to facilitate preservation. There is also a need for the design guidelines to facilitate the control of development in ways that recognize and respect historical elements and general historical character of the city. It is specifically recommended that the design guidelines embody a vision and practical means for integrating new development and modifying existing visual character in ways that reinforce material heritage to create visual unity across the whole fabric. The guidelines must pay particular attention to specifying objectives, ways and means of integrating new facilities and infrastructure without compromising the traditional image and character of the city. The Guidelines must specifically address the issue of vehicular transportation to find ways of integration that is in harmony with the fabric. The guidelines must be formulated in ways that are flexible, dynamic and positive; guiding people towards what is right, rather than negative and restrictive, seeking only to limit action. Design guidelines should be complemented by appropriate implementation procedures that are acceptable to the community.

The persistence of problems in the public space of Zaria also point to an urgent need to improve the management of public space in particular and the overall process of growth and development in the city in general. There is a general need to undertake an evaluation of the current structures for managing public space and general development in the city with the aim improving effectiveness in the management of change. Evaluation should in general lead to organizational restructuring and the delineation of clear responsibilities in planning and management, resulting in improvement in the design of public spaces and in services and facilities delivery. Attempts at organizational evaluation and restructuring must also be complemented by efforts aimed at establishing basic standards in the provision, servicing and management of public spaces and facilities. It is recommended that all actions be formulated and taken in ways that are reasonable and feasible within available capacity and resources and in consultation with the community, particularly the traditional structures of community governance.

9.3 Contributions and Limitations of the Study

The study makes significant academic contributions in a number of distinct ways. The study contributes in respect of knowledge about Zaria. While there have been a number of studies about Zaria, none has addressed the issue of communal social and cultural life over the history of the city as was done in the study. The study was able to use historical data to generate new ways of understanding the society, as well as contribute new information about social life in the contemporary city. Findings of the study also enable a better understanding of social life and cultural activities in the Hausa cities. The study, for example, establishes that spaces in Hausa cities do not generally have single functions. What obtains is rather a unique grouping of activities that define functional spaces. The Dandali combines symbolic political and cultural activities with religious and everyday recreation and interaction. Community spaces combine roads with religious buildings and house frontages to create the setting for community meeting, relaxation and interaction. Activities are also usually interwoven, with functional activities taking place side by side with recreation activities and social interaction.

The study also highlights significant development issues and problems with implication for the planning and management of Zaria's growth and development. The study validates concerns about growth and its impact on the development of the city and its public space. The challenges resulting from growth and change, as earlier discussed, create room for the

examination of ways to improve the management of change and development in the city. The study also essentially establishes a new research direction for the Hausa cities. The broad historical coverage of the study means that it establishes a framework for the examination and historical understanding of Hausa social and cultural life. In doing so, the study provides an avenue for more detailed study of Zaria, for the study of other Hausa and Caliphate cities, and for comparative studies across the Hausa and Caliphate cities.

The study also contributed through the development of the framework for the research. Public space has been the focus of discussion on the need for broader approaches to its conceptualization and study. While calls have been many, actual studies attempting to develop an approach to public space from a diverse multi-disciplinary perspective that recognizes its multi-dimensional nature have been few. The approach of this study bridges this gap by developing a framework that relates all the dimensions of public space in a conceptual model and also develops an operational framework for use in a case study. A particular contribution of the research from the perspective of the research framework is in the rooting of the understanding of public space practices in social culture. The thesis viewed public space practices as rooted in social culture. While previous conceptions of public space have always pointed to the importance of culture, it has always been given a low ontological weight in examining and comparing practices across cultural divides. By giving cultural issues ontological importance, the study was able to distinguish, root and understand public space practices in the Hausa cities from the perspective of their culture.

The limitations of the study arise from the broadness of the subject studied as well as from the availability of data. The study in its conception was broad both in terms of spatial coverage of the city and the period of history covered. The broadness of the study generated a complexity that limited the depth of analysis to understand specifics of places and practices. Closely aligned with the issue of the broadness of the subject of the study is the issue of data availability. The study was severely limited by data availability. The issue of data availability limited the scope and depth of treatment. Adequate data was not readily available to cover all the issues and periods of the study. It also raised quality issues that were addressed in the research methodology. The experience of using the framework developed for the research makes it imperative to also point out its limitations. Experience from undertaking the study shows that a multi-dimensional multi-disciplinary approach to public space embodies a certain degree of complexity that would require the adequate

availability of data to address. This limitation makes the framework best suited for application in data rich environments, especially when a broad historical treatment is aimed for. The framework would therefore be best recommended for research that addresses public space within a narrow historical time frame or at low spatial levels that facilitates the grainier treatment of spaces.

9.4 Areas for Further Study

The research highlights the need for further research on Zaria. One area of research that is urgently needed is in the aspect of historical data sources and availability. The lack of historical data sources is impeding research on the city and leading to the circulation and over analysis of a set of available information. There is a need for research to improve the availability of historical data. Research on historical sources may explore oral, documentary as well as archaeological sources for new historical information about the city. There is also the need for further thematic studies of the city. Thematic studies can address a diversity of social issues such as gender issues with a focus on say the role of social culture in the construction of gender roles in public space and female navigation and activities in public space. For each category of space, a limited sample of observations and interviews was taken to come to an ontological understanding of the space. A deeper understanding of each category of space including understanding the activities, interactions, symbolisms of each space type will require independent detailed study. This study also looked at the traditional city in isolation from the wider metropolitan area. There is a need to contextualize some of the findings in relationship to the broader metropolitan context. It is necessary to ask whether people are engaging in activities outside the city and how such activities provide opportunities to contest the norms prevailing within the city. There is a also a need for studies that look deeper into normative issues related to the future development of the city. A deeper examination of issues of appropriate structures for managing growth, vision of the city's growth and development, issues of preservation versus conservation in growth, accommodation of expansion, means of community participation in the planning and management of growth, sources of development funding among others are urgently needed to ensure a healthy and sustainable future for the city

CHAPTER 1 NOTES

¹ The seven states also known as Hausa Bakwa (transl; Seven Hausas) are Daura, Gobir, Biram, Kano, Rano, Katsina and Zaria. Besides the original *Hausa Bakwai*, (legitimate seven Hausas) there are also seven other states known as *Banza Bakwai* or “illegitimate seven” where though Hausa is spoken, it is not the original language. These are Kebbi, Zamfara, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba and Kwarrarafa (Hogben 1967, p.75)

² They are also found in neighboring countries including Mali, Chad, Niger, Cameroon, Ghana, Dahomey, Togo and to as far away as Sudan. The area was known in the past to the Arabs as Bilad Al-Sudan but is now called Western Sudan (Hogben, 1967; Ifemesia 1965, p.90).

³ Details of the story varies depending on the source used (Hogben 1967; Ifemesia 1965).

⁴ The other provinces include Borgu, Ilorin, Kabba, Kontagora, Bida, Lower Benue (Nassarawa) and upper Benue (Muri).

CHAPTER 2 NOTES

⁵ Aristotle's theory is essentially not a theory of space, “but only a theory of place or a theory of positions in space” (Jammer 1967, p. 17).

⁶ Newton further distinguished between absolute space and relative space. Absolute space cannot be perceived by our senses; it becomes measurable by relative space. Absolute space as homogeneous and infinite; relative space is the coordinate system, the measure of absolute space (Van de ven, 1908, p. 32).

⁷ Space in this sense is a necessary idea a priori, and not an empirical object, resulting from exterior experiences. Thus space (and also time), from the perspective of Kant, can only be spoken of from a human point of view and beyond the subjective human condition, the representation of space has no meaning, as it does not represent any property of objects as things in themselves, nor does it represent them in their relations to each other (Madanipour 1996).

⁸ Ching (1996, p. 124 & 148), for example, identifies the Piazza del Campidoglio and Del Compo as examples of urban space. Spreiregen (1965, p. 55), commenting on the space of the city notes that “it is helpful to think of these spaces as two generic types: formal or ‘urban spaces,’ usually molded by building facades and the city's floor; and natural or ‘open spaces,’ which represent nature brought into, and around the city.” Krier (1975, p. 15) also defines urban space as comprising “all types of space between buildings in towns and other localities.”

⁹ The works of Soja (1985) on the spatiality of social life, Häußermann (1997) on social transformation in urban space and Gotham (2000) on segregation in urban space reflect the social and spatial emphasis of the social science disciplines in their approach to urban space.

¹⁰ Carr et al (1992, p.3-10 & 40-60) trace the history and evolution of public spaces in the city and reviews the functions of the different types of public spaces. In tracing the history of the spaces, he traces current practices to the classical practices of the agora and acropolis of the Greeks and the forum of the Roman period, and goes on to examine developments through the practices of squares in the renaissance, the introduction of parks and boulevards of the industrial period, to the pedestrian malls and corporate plaza's of the contemporary period.

¹¹ Carmona et al. (2003) classify the open public spaces as ‘external public spaces’ and identifies them to include public squares, streets and highways, pointing out that they constitute public space in its purest form. Enclosed public spaces are classified as ‘internal public space’ and are identified to include public institutions such as libraries, museums, town halls, and facilities such as train or bus stations, and airports. Scruton (1987) identifies enclosed public spaces to include religious spaces such as church, mosque and temple.

¹² He for example points out that public space can at once, be local, city wide, and national for the articulation of social identities. Examination of the literature also indicates that public spaces do function at different spatial scale of the city, ranging from that of the residential neighborhood, to the district and city-wide.

¹³ These spaces are also known as pseudo public spaces (Sorkin 1992, cited Carmona et al. 2003, p. 111). Carmona et al. (2003, p. 111) points out that these spaces though legally private, constitute a part of the public realm. The category also includes spaces that are classified as ‘privatized’ public spaces. The spaces may be either open or enclosed and includes places such as university campuses, restaurants, cinemas, and shopping malls.

¹⁴ Carr et al (1992, p. 22) further observes that the existence of public spaces also presupposes the existence of some form of public life. Mitchell (1996, p. 128) also points out that “for most of us it is a world selectively public and private: a world in which there are spaces in which unstructured, but not threatening, encounters ‘remain’ possible, where there is always room to have one's voice heard and one's demonstration (or other performance) seen before retreating to a more private realm in which encounters are structured according to our own dictates”.

¹⁵ The contrast between public and private life is essentially in this sense presented as a contrast between familial social life and non-familial social life.

¹⁶ On the issue Carr et al. (1992 p. 23) point out that "throughout history, Communities have developed public spaces that support their needs ... Public places have enabled the social exchange of a widely ranging nature covering individual as well as communal issues. They also provide the grounds for demanding personal and political rights... Although there are vast differences in the forms of communal life across societies, public life has been an integral part of the formation and continuation of social groups"

¹⁷ The sphere is traced historically and geographically to transformations occurring in Western Europe in the late 18th century. ... It is linked to the demand for political reform, principally on the part of an emergent but increasingly self-confident bourgeoisie, and it depended on and presumed the "prior transformation of social relations, their condensation into new institutional arrangements and the generation of new social, cultural, and political discourse around this changing environment" (Eley 1992, p. 14 in Howell 1993, p. 328). It is therefore a sphere of politics and politics is its language (Goheen 1998, p. 486).

¹⁸ In his conception of the theory, Habermas regarded the concept as a specific and limited historical entity. It arose, he argued from the challenged offered by certain private interest that proved capable of challenging the right of the state to represent its purposes and interest as those of the public in general. With time, the concept has broadened "to incorporate a wider range of voices than Habermas originally contemplated" (Goheen, 1998, p. 481). The sphere has changed as the political concept of the public good changed radically.

¹⁹ "The western ideal of public spaces sees it as 'unconstrained space within which political movement can organizes and expand into wider arena (Mitchell 1995, p. 115)." It is a space "where the marginalized can challenge the status quo or dominant order" (Duncan 1996, p. 130), and "where 'oppositional social movement can form and operate" (Mitchell, 1995:110). The realities of public space do not however often coincide with its ideals (Drummond, 2000, p. 2380).

²⁰ Work in this area principally follows the phenomenological tradition of Husserl regarding the experience of place associated with urban experiment. There are different ways of conceptualizing the issues, such as Knox and Pinch's (2000, p. 295) focus on designative aspect of imagery versus the appraisive aspect of image, or environmental cognition versus environmental perception. See also Jackson and Smith (1984, p. 20-4)

²¹ "Across many cultures and time women have been threatened in public places, making them less comfortable to use (Carr et al. 1992 p. 97). So for them, public space does not conjure a picture of an opportunity for interaction and public life, but a threatening location, where they might experience bodily harm.

²² Culture is conceptualized in the research literature in a variety of competing ways which is beyond the scope of this study to review. The study adopts a definition of culture as a complete way of life and system of order that is expressed in the economic, political, social and symbolic structures of society, including its adaptation to the physical or material world. Culture is taken to include all norms, values, practices and material artifacts of a society.

²³ Davis (1984) uses the indicators to explain the social structures of the feudal, pre-industrial and industrial cities

²⁴ Cultures are open systems subject to adaptation, which may be the result of borrowing things, ideas and behavior from other cultures (Ember & Ember 1993, p. 24)

²⁵ In between are found the industrial or capitalist city of the 19th century, and the Fordist city of the early 20th century. In almost all cases, cities in each stage of the modernizing process, have unique social and spatial patterns and relations that is directly associated with their regime of production (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p. 27-49; Sassen, 1991, in Kalltorp et al. 1997, p. 1). This theory has been challenge by some people, such as Leontidou (1996, p. 180), who argue that the theory is a local narrative present as "grand, universal stories and generalizations".

²⁶ In the sixteenth century, straight wide avenues and a formal spatial order beginning in Italy changed the shape of many cities. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, roads and later paved streets laid out for convenience on a grid pattern were introduced. Streets were complemented in New England by the common green and elsewhere by town squares and public markets. During the renaissance, planned and formally organized squares became the norm. In the nineteenth century, the boulevard was introduced following the redevelopment of Paris. The reform movement with its emphasis on play settings for children and the spread of small sports parks and playgrounds to serve the middle classes came later. Since the 1950s, new forms of public spaces have emerged ranging from the down town pedestrian mall, to the corporate plaza, the festival market, etc (Carr et al. 1992, p. 3-40).

²⁷ This view is reinforced by the observation of Sennet (1995, p. 15) who notes that the centre of the world is often a fast-moving place, with a multiplicity of identities and a potential for plurality and therefore fragmentations of social relations, while remote locations where the pace of change is slow, implying a slower pace of identity change and a more coherent set of relations between social and physical space.

²⁸ Space is in essence viewed as a social product, and so cannot obey purely spatial or universal laws. It is rather shaped according to the regularities of societal processes, which are historically founded (Lagopoulos

1993, p. 266). Soja characterises the relationship between the social and physical aspect of spaces as a 'socio-spatial dialectics' in which people create and modify spaces while at the same time being conditioned by the spaces in which they live and work

²⁹ The inspiration for the approach comes from neo-classical economics, which emphasizes price fixing mechanism through competitive free markets into which extra cost of distance are introduced by geographers and functionalist sociology, with its demographic notion of social structure (Madanipour, 1996, p. 53, Knox & Pinch, 2000, p. 2).

³⁰ It is also known as "the institutional approach" (Jonston 1982), "radical" or "socially concerned" geography (Hall, 1984), "structuralist" or "political economy" (Herbert & Thomas, 1982),

³¹ The description of the approach presented is abstracted from "Habitat Research" located at http://home.worldcom.ch/~negenter/061HabitatRes_E.html

CHAPTER 3 NOTES

³² Thus syntactically, it is possible to distinguish the use of the term 'public space' as referring to a single aggregated entity, from 'public spaces' as referring to a collection of the individual public places of a city.

³³ This is in consonance with historical divisions prevalent in the literature. Ebuga (1984) for example points out that "four historical periods can be identified in the growth and development of Zaria: the period of the Hausa Kingdoms or city-states; the period of the rule of the Fulani Sokoto Caliphate; The period of Colonial Administration; and the post colonial period from 1960" (Ebuga 1984 p.36)

³⁴ Tabular forms were designed and used to improve objectivity in the handling of historical data. Three forms were design. The first form tracks public space by period to identify patterns and practices in relation to the three dimensions of physical, social and symbolic. The second form tracks daily routines by time of day, spaces, people and activities and the last form track changes across historical periods by dimension and issue, and also links observed changes with causal factors from cultural transformation.

CHAPTER 4 NOTES

³⁵ Abdullahi R. (1986, p.5) believes that "There are no Hausa people; there are only people who speak the Hausa language and practice the Hausa way of life"

³⁶ Except around the palaces, which are surrounded by a large number of hereditary rulers, most wards will have a combination of mixed classes with either ethnic, familial or occupation affiliations.

³⁷ There are conflicting accounts on the introduction of Islam to the western Sudan and Hausa land. Hogben (1967:50) points out that there records suggesting that the Religion was introduced and adopted earlier than the 11th century but some of the rulers who adopted it later reverted to pagan practices. There are, however, clear evidence of the spread of Islam in the Sudan From the 11th century.

³⁸ Among the principal title holders are: the *Galadima*, usually an eunuch left in charge of the town when the king is absent; the *Madawaki* (sometimes *Madaki*), who is commander in chief of the arm forces and adviser on appointment of title holders; the *Waziri*, who is the chief minister and adviser; the *Magaji*, who is the lord of the treasury; the *sarkin Dogorai*, head of the king's body guard; and the *limamin jumma'a*, who is the chief spiritual adviser.

³⁹ Thus, there is usually a *Wakilin arewa*, *gabas*, *kudu*, and *yamma* (meaning representative of the north, east, west and south section of the city). Zaria and Katsina have four districts each, while Daura has two.

⁴⁰ The Zaria chronicle is a king list which is believed to have been preserved by the Limamin Kona (Dalhatu & Hassan 2000, p.2). The chronicle is of doubtful accuracy, even though it provides very useful historical information which is not available from any other sources. This chronicle is, however, only a king list, unlike the Kano Chronicle which describes events associated with the periods of the rules of the various kings.

⁴¹ Gunguma is also referred to as *Madau Zazzau* (literally meaning the carrier of Zazzau), in reference to a sword which he is alleged to use as a symbol of authority over the small city states (Dalhatu & Hassan, 2000 p.3).

⁴² There are doubts about whether Bakwa Turunku was a man or a woman (Hogben 1967, p.116; Ifemesia, 1965, p.102). There are conflicting accounts of the founding of modern Zaria by Bakwa Turunku (Temple 1922, Hogben 1965, Dalhatu and Hassan, 2000) making it difficult to historically reconstruct the movement. Also there are a complex series of city walls around the Zaria area which are yet to be adequately studied. It is still not clear when each of the Walls was built and current hypothesis about the chronology of the walls appear to conflict with some of the traditions relating to the movement of Bakwa Turunku to Zaria (Achi 1985, p.142; Urquhart 1977) Conflicts are also found between dates reported for the movement of Bakwa Turunku to Zaria, and those of the exploits of Queen Amina as reported in the Kano Chronicle which further complicates the chronology of the historical accounts of the period.

⁴³ The palace of the Emir of Zaria is still known as *Gidan Bakwa* (Translated- House of Bakwa).

⁴⁴ Bello's Infaq Al Maysur quoted in Ifemesia, 1965 p.103 and Hogben 1967, p.116 presents an account of her exploits: "In these seven countries of Hausa, there are many wonderful things and strange happenings. The first to whom power was given in this land, according to what we have been told, was Aminatu, daughter

of Sarkin Zakzak (Zaria). She made war upon these countries and overcame them entirely so that the people of Katsina, paid tribute to her and the men of Kano. She also made war on the cities of Bauchi (presumably a non-muslim pagan country) till her kingdom reached the sea (river) in the south and west. ... In this way, Zakzak became the most extensive of all countries of Hausa for many of the towns of Bauchi were included in it."

⁴⁵ There are conflicting reports on Amina's younger sister Zaria. Dalhatu and Hassan (2000, p.5) indicate that she died at Yawuri (present Kebbi State) on her way to meet Amina from Zariyan Kala-Kala, a place now in Niger Republic. Other sources (Hogben 1967, p.116) indicate that Zaria ruled Zazzau after the death of Amina thereby suggesting that she outlived Amina in contrast with the earlier assertion.

⁴⁶ The first two rulers of Zaria never assumed the title of Emir, but were rather referred to as *Mallams* (Islamic scholar). They were viewed as deputies of the *Amir-ul-mummin* (Leader of the Faithful) who is the Sultan of Sokoto and the leader of the Caliphate. This situation reflected the Islamic ideals of the Sokoto Jihad (Hogben 1967, p.120)

⁴⁷ The council consisted of the *Limamin Jumma'a* (The Friday Imam), The *Galadima*, and one other official, usually the chief judge or the Limamin Kona,

⁴⁸ Both the first and second emir, Mallam Musa and Yamusa experienced attempts at rebellion. The sixth ruler, Sidi Abdulkadiri was deposed by his half brother, while the seventh ruler was assassinated.

⁴⁹ The Fulani as a group were internally differentiated into a settled Fulani and a nomadic fulaini who move about tending to their cow herds. It is the settled Fulani who participated in the Jihad and assumed a superior position in the Hausa cities (Smith 1960, p76-80).

⁵⁰ Among the notable European explorers who passed through Zaria are Clapperton in his 1828 expedition, and Staudinger in 1889

⁵¹ The other provinces include Borgu, Ilorin, Kabba, Kontagora, Bida, Lower Benure (Nassarawa) and upper Benue (Muri). Kano and Sokoto fell in February and March 1903 respectively.

⁵² Kirk-Green (1962, p.15-6) provides statistics that indicates, for example, that between 1945 to 1955, the percentage of western educated employers increased from 15.6% to 27.5%.

⁵³ Per capital income rose, for example, from 31 Nigerian pound in 1966 to 275 Naira (\$420 then) in 1977, with the rate of inflation also rising from 2.6% between 1960 and 1970 to 18.2% between 1970 and 1978 (Ebuga 1985, p.54)

⁵⁴ It is necessary to point out that in there literature, there is some confusion in the use of these terms. What have been termed as ward in the study is considered by in some sources as quarters, while the higher level spatial unit referred to as districts is in some sources referred to as ward.

⁵⁵ There is still no officially accepted census figure in Nigeria since the 1953 census report. All censuses since then have been disputed and official figures were never released. There is also no framework in Nigeria for collecting municipal information and population statistics. Most population figures are usually based on estimates or projections, which have to be taken with reservation. In the case of Zaria, we were able to acquire figures for 1999 from a census of household by the traditional official in charge of the city. Even then,, the figures on careful analysis show an anomaly in their distribution by ward making it suspect.

⁵⁶ Clapperton clearly indicates that he can form no estimate of the population of Zaria but goes on to give a figure of 40,000 or 50,000 based on information received that Zaria is more populated than Kano

⁵⁷ Most of the deductions on social organization and differentiation have been derived from the analysis of field interview questionnaires and also the detailed biographic information. Some information was also obtained by asking pointed follow up questions to some key people of the city.

CHAPTER 5 NOTES

⁵⁸ The free access public spaces refers to spaces, mostly open, for public use with very limited restrictions on access and use, while the quasi-public spaces are spaces, open or enclosed, existing as part of facilities with established ownership but which are open to public use with restrictions on both access and use.

⁵⁹ From the field work, over 90% of the spaces observed are directly integrated with the movement system and spaces. Of these, community spaces, markets and production spaces are the most prevalently integrated to the extent that it becomes difficult to distinguish a boundary between the road spaces and the activities in the aforementioned spaces.

⁶⁰ 46.5% of the spaces sampled during the fieldwork are residential community spaces, showing the prevalence of the space type in the city fabric. They are usually found in all residential wards.

⁶¹ All the residential community spaces observed during the field work were located at road junctions.

⁶² Some of the community spaces located on higher order city roads such as observation spot 35 and 13 cater for a much broader audience, making them meeting places of people from several quarters or wards.

⁶³ Residential community spaces such as kofar gidan Moyi in Dan Madami quarter and kofar gidan Sade in Anguwan Zaria quarter are named after individuals; Spaces such as Rimin Tsiwa and Rimin Zabarmawa are named after trees found there; and space such as Mabuga, Kwata and Marmara are named after activities or features found in the location

⁶⁴ Examples include the open space near the Amaru Market, the space in front of the Prison in the Kofar Doka ward and the open space beside Government Secondary School Zaria.

⁶⁵ The actual distribution of the spaces found by activity is welding 26%, vehicle and cycle repair 32%, tailoring and embroidery 26%, slaughter and meat procession 5% and shoe work 5%

⁶⁶ Markets, while generally accessible, have stalls in which access is restricted to those with intention to purchase; religious facilities are usually accessible to adherents; free access to institutional spaces is restricted to non-operational areas; and, while access to open spaces associated with entertainment facilities is free, access to activities inside the facilities is restricted by ability to pay entertainment.

⁶⁷ Examples can be found in the Kasuwan marmara located in Juma quarter, at Kofar gidan mai anguwan sirdi, and also Anguwan Zaria

⁶⁸ In the works and veterinary Departments for example, people were found selling food, providing services such as manicure or selling exotic items such as clothing and medicine. There was a permanent stall for selling beef in the Veterinary Department

⁶⁹ Kofar Bai, Galadima and Kona served people from Kauru, Kajuru, Zangon Kataf, Karigi, Soba and Maigana; Kofar Doka (called Kofar Kano in the Jihad period) and Kofar Tukur served Kano, Katsina, Damagaram Borno, Hunkuyi, makarfi and kudan; Kofar Jatau and Kuyambana served Fatika, Kuyambana, Karau-karau, gangara, giwa, shika etc; and Kofar gayan served Kachia, Keffi, Nupe, Oyo, Gonja and gayan village.

⁷⁰ Urquhart (1977, p. 17) seems to suggest that the mosque was moved to its present location in 1856. When contrasted with other accounts, there is a better support for the timing of the construction of the mosque in the 1830s than in 1856.

⁷¹ Some reports date the location of the palace to the time of Bakwa Turunku. Most reports, including Urquhart, (1977), and Moughtin (1985) report that the palace was established in the immediate aftermath of the Jihad. This is supported by the report of Clapperton (1828).

⁷² Acknowledgement of the existence of the activities and the names of the places were supplied by detailed biographical interview source 09 and 10.

CHAPTER 6 NOTES

⁷³ In the fieldwork, field attendants were instructed to judge composition by taking a representative sample of the people in the spaces and categorizing them into Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo or other Nigerian tribes. This representative sample is then taken as a representation of the whole space. It is noteworthy that in the contemporary city, there is no more distinction between the Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups. Both have conflated together and are referred to as Hausas or as Hausa-Fulani.

⁷⁴ It is necessary to point out that there are pockets of areas where the generalized pattern does not hold due to the aggregation of particular ethnic groups. Example is found in Gidan Nufawa in the Juma Ward and In Zabarmawa, where two minority ethnic groups have congregated.

⁷⁵ The culture of cinema going as family entertainment is one that has not taken hold in Nigeria. This may largely be a result of the under-developed state of the industry or from a religious inhibition; in any case, the practice has evolved over time to be associated mostly with loose women than as a place of family entertainment.

⁷⁶ Metal and carpentry work is usually found along major arterials, Garment production may be found in markets and the arterials, but it is mostly concentrated in the residential wards in house entrances (*Zaure*), while meat processing is carried out in the open abattoir in Kusfa.

⁷⁷ The Ceremony is held to present the garment of office, which includes a turban (*Rawani*) that is a symbol of title holding.

⁷⁸ From the fieldwork, 91% percent of the spaces surveyed had interaction and discussion among the four predominant activities taking place in them. In 75% of these space interaction and discussion was either the dominant activity or the second ranked activity in the space.

⁷⁹ An example such mass action involving a religious movement, the Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen was reported in the official media of the movement, *The Muslimmedia* edition of February 1-15, 1999. the incidence involved a protest organized by the movement to protest the Al Quds day, attended by a million people in their estimate (the BBC estimates half a million). The movement started from the traditional city and Sabon Gari and converged at Tudun Wada where a shootout with the police resulted in the death of a lady.

⁸⁰ Allan Baku is a game of seek and find played by children, while Dan Kwarro involved cutting, climbing and racing on poles

⁸¹ In most Hausa cities, daily cultural life structured by the need to engage in productive activities, by the day and night rhythm and also by the Muslim daily prayers which serves as temporal markers for the course of the day. The four period that can generally be identified are the morning period which starts from the Muslim

early morning prayer (Sallar Asubahi) to full daylight around 7am, the day period which starts from full day light to the Muslim evening prayer (Maghrib) around 6.30 pm, the evening period from the Magrib period to the around 11pm and the night period starting from 11 pm to the early morning prayer.

⁸² In the course of the field work, we came across a house where teenagers were animated involved in drumming and dancing. On further enquiries we learnt that it was the Kwambe dance, a very physical youth dancing exercise that is fast fading out of practice in the city.

⁸³ The importance of the space for this function is reflected in the large segment of interviewed people who acknowledge that they go to the place for activities.

⁸⁴ The popularity of the official celebrations is indicated by the fact that 98% of the people interviewed during the fieldwork indicated that they have attended the celebrations.

⁸⁵ 81% of respondents during the fieldwork indicated that they have witnessed the activities, while 77% indicated that it is happening in their wards.

⁸⁶ Political activities and mass actions do degenerate into situations where life and property are threatened, sometimes virtually forcing the city to shut down as people withdraw to their private domains.

CHAPTER 7 NOTES

⁸⁷ This correlates with the study by Ebuga (1984, p. 46) which showed that only 5 persons out of a group of 42 indicated a desire to consider moving from the traditional city, indicating a strong attachment to the city.

⁸⁸ The peace loving attitude was displayed in Detailed Biographical interviews, in which most of the persons interviewed abhorred violence (*Tashin Hankali*) and would rather have peaceful co-existence.

⁸⁹ It is noteworthy that the Emir is at once the most politically powerful person, as well as the wealthiest citizen of the state. He therefore commanded the ability of offer patronage of different kinds (Urquhart, P7).

⁹⁰ On several occasions during the fieldwork people have stopped the research team to enquire about what we are doing, offer to assist us or give advice. The general feeling of all the team was one of friendliness and accommodation from residents of the city

⁹¹ In one particular case, the only surviving traditional dye in the city, a fairly old man, got very angry when we tried to photograph his dye pits. His explanation was that the government refused to provide even simple refuse collection services to collect the dump of refuse that was threatening to engulf his place of business. His angry words included expletives against the Emir, saying that even if he was the one that sent us, he will not allow us to photograph the place. This was an untypical behavior from our experience in the city.

⁹² Among the sources who made such observations include DB 2, 3, and 10.

⁹³ In age terms, the senior in years always occupies a senior social position. At fifty one is expected to be the head of an independent compound. Any person under thirty who is not married is classed as a youth (*samari*) (Smith, 1955, p.14).

⁹⁴ The discipline relation are observed between parents -lineal and collateral, and children- lineal and collateral, except in the cases where fondness relationship holds, and also between real or classificatory seniors and junior siblings of the same sex.; avoidance- shame relationship holds between parents and their first-born; fondness relationship hold between Ego and his or her fathers sister (*gogo*) and between his or her mother's brother (*Kawu*). The children of Ego's *gogo* and *Kawu* are Ego's joking relations (*abokan wasa*); joking relationships also exist across occupation and ethnic groups, such as between blacksmiths and butchers and, Kanuri and Fulani.

⁹⁵ Clapperton (1838, p. 158) reports that Abdulkarim visited and waited on him to ask about his comfort, with no report of fanfare associated with the visit, showing that the practice of entourage was probably not rigidly used on every occasion in the early days of the Jihad period.

⁹⁶ DB01, who is 103 years old, commenting on the subject observed that the most desirable thing to them as teenagers was to make a beautiful dress and to put it during Sallah periods so that everybody will admire it.

⁹⁷ The new political class emerged challenging the very basis of the authority of traditional emirate institutions. As Whittaker (1970, p.97-9) notes, "on August 19, 1950 Abubakar Tafawa Balewa launched a frontal attack on the state of Native Administration in the Northern House of Assembly ... He suggested that the Sole Native Authority was based on conceptions that were non-traditional and unIslamic. " Tafawa Balewa goes on to point out that "Natural rulers of the North should realize that Western education and world conditions are fast creating a new class of people in the North. That this new class must exist is certain, and the Natural Rulers, whom the North must retain at all cost, should, instead of suspecting it, try to find it proper accommodation..." (Whittaker 1970, p. 99)

⁹⁸ DB 1, 2 and 9, who are all above 70 years of age deny that gambling, prostitution or Bori was practiced in the traditional city. DB09 who is about 68 years old, however, acknowledged the existence of such practices and actually listed multiple locations where they took place.

⁹⁹ This desire is also reflected on responses from DB sources (including 2, 3, 9 and 10) who all indicated a desire for physical development, generally for the city and particularly for their wards, with emphasis on roads, drainage, water, electricity supply and refuse collection and disposal.

¹⁰⁰ Ninety eight percent of those interviewed in the field work also indicated that they have attended Eid celebrations at the Dandali.

¹⁰¹ Abdullahi (1986, p. 69) reports that "one seventeen year-old girl had a self induced abortion at the urban school and then threw the seven month foetus over the barbed-wire fence surrounding the school rather than tell anyone or ask anyone for help. Having a child before marriage, is unheard of in traditional Hausa homes"

¹⁰² This position seems to be acknowledged by participants in the industry, as in the local Journal of the industry FIM, issue no 31 of July 2002, there is an article where a female participants is expressing an accord with an earlier comment by a producer in the industry that it is contributing to the loosening of morals and that there is a need to refocus the theme of production to promote and emphasize Islamic morals and values. The lady agrees, pointing out that the perception that the industry is loosening morals and values is also leading to conception of participants in the industry as wayward. This would from all indication affect the female participants more in view of the impact of an epithet on their personality.

¹⁰³ The Islamic prohibition of the representation of life forms led to decorations evolving centered on abstract patterns.

¹⁰⁴ Detailed Biography Interview source 10 has identified some of these Islamic scholars as Mallam Na'iya, Usman Na Babajo, Shehu Yahuza, Mallam Abdulkarim and Isiyaka na Gusau

CHAPTER 8 NOTES

¹⁰⁵ Mahdi (1974, p.185) goes on to suggest that the establishment of new emirates and the Jihad in general should be viewed from an altered philosophy, characterised by the desire to rule first and foremost and by the pursuit of material interest. Callewa (1987, p.13) has also observed that it is likely that the Hausa population did not understand the nature of the Jihad, perceiving only that they have been conquered. She also goes on to observe that the Fulani political system that evolved during the century was essentially the original Hausa system with a strong Fulani and Islamic overlay.

¹⁰⁶ Not only did slaves become associated with accumulation, but many captured slaves also settled in Zaria city thereby contributing to population diversity and to boosting its economy (Achi 1985, p.152-3)

¹⁰⁷ People were free to move about and settle in the different cities and trade expanded between the cities and each city strived to developed areas of expertise which complemented that of other cities. Zaria according to Achi (1981, p.45) became a center of trade and its market a hub of economic activity, thereby attracting "many occupational specialist to the city".

¹⁰⁸ The prevalence of many city walls during the pre-jihad period seem to support our assertion that the Jihad introduced order in a disordered environment. There have been many attempts to link the various walls to the story of the migration of Bakwa Turunku to Kufena and modern Zaria, but so far the stories appear to conflict and do not provide a logical explanation for all the walls. If we, however, accept that they were constructed in a period when warfare was prevalent, then it becomes logical to explain the walls as response to the continuous process of attack and plunder with the rebuilding of defenses accounting for the existence of the various walls. This will be in line with the legend of Amina as a warrior Queen and also the traditions which talks of Kano attacking Zaria and the people of the city fleeing to the Kufena mountain, with the Kano attackers attempting to lift the mountain and the saying 'Dutsen Kufena gagara daka' literally meaning the Kufena mountain is impossible to lift. This position can however only be substantiated by further archeological and historical research.

¹⁰⁹ The twin issues of preservation and maintenance of security and stability are related and are at the heart of the colonial enterprise in Northern Nigeria (Whittaker, 1970, p.41). The course of preservation was dictated by the lack of sufficient personnel to support a more engaged regime of colonial administration. This lack of personnel and the need to ensure stability, law and order was what led to a policy of preservation. Alghazali (1967, p.1-2) has criticised the policy of preservation, pointing out that "it bred an attitude of mind antithetical to development" and therefore tended to retard development while strengthening the traditional authorities vis-à-vis the rest of the public.

¹¹⁰ As earlier mentioned in chapter 5, there are conflicting reports on the existence of the present palace before the Jihad. In some narrations, it appears that the pre-jihad center of power was in Juma ward where both the Friday mosque and Palace were located. In other narratons, the present palace is traced back in history to Bakwa Turunku, thereby dating it to a very early period of Zaria's history.

¹¹¹ In the built fabric, it is government facilities form the bulk of planned facilities. This is because such facilities are usually provided through formal processes that require design, tendering and contracting.

¹¹² Lovejoy (1980, p.53) associates this with the concept of Asali, "as an indication of a state, town or origin, or an historical event or process with which a persons ancestors is identified".

¹¹³ It is noteworthy that the Emir is at once the most politically powerful person, as well as the wealthiest citizen of the state. He therefore commanded the ability of offer patronage of different kinds (Urquhart, 1977, p.7).

¹¹⁴ This argument has been presented by the deposed Habe Emir of Zaria, who points out that they were Muslims and were actually attacked by the Jihad army while attending the Eid prayers outside the city.

REFERENCES

- Abdullah R. (1986) *Self-Concept and Culture Change among the Hausa*, Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press
- Achi B. (1985) *The Development and Functions of City walls in the Savannah Belt of the Northern Nigerian Area*, M.A. History thesis submitted to the Postgraduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
- Ajayi J. F. A. (1965) "West African States at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century", in Ajayi J. F. A & Espie I. (eds) *A thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, p.251-266
- Alghazali A. (1967) *British Administration and the Development of Northern Nigeria 1900-1954*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation
- Al-Said F. & Garba S. B. (2003) Appropriation versus Encroachment in the Formation and Transformation of Street Form in Traditional Arab-Muslim Cities, *The Arab World Geographer*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 2003, pp.61-78
- Appignanesi R. & Garrat C. (1995) *Introducing Postmodernism*, N. York: Totem Books
- Arnett E. J. Esq., (1922) *Northern Province: Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London: Frank Cass
- Barkindo B. M. – *The gates of Kano city: A historical survey*, pp1-30, Barkindo B. M. (ed) (1983) *Studies in the History of Kano*, Heineman Educational Books (Nigeria) Limited
- Barnett J. (1982), *An Introduction to Urban Design*, N. York: Harper & Row
- Barth H. (1890) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London: Ward, Lock and Co.
- Barth H. (1962) *Extracts from the Journal of Henrich Barth's Travels in Nigeia 1850-1855*, Selected and edited by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, London: Oxford University Press
- Bengs (1997) Urban Form and Focial Control, in O. Kalltorp, I Elander, O Ericsson, & M. Franzen (eds) *Cities in Transformation – Transformation in Cities: Social and Symbolic Change of Urban Space*, Aldershot: Avebury, pp.15-35
- Benhabib S. (1992) Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jurgen Habermas, in C. Calhoun (Ed) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Benn S. I. & Gauss G. F. (1983) *Public and Private in Social Life*, London: Croom Helm
- Bergstrom K. (2002) *Legacies of Colonialism for Hausa Women: An Historical Analysis*, Women and International Development Working paper #276, East Lansing, MI: International Center, Michigan State University
- Bollnow O. F. (1984) *Mensch und Raum*, 5th ed. Stuttgart: Kohlhemmer
- Brill M. (1989) Transformation, Nostalgia and Illusion in Public Life and Public Place, in I Altman & E. Zub (eds), *Public Places and Spaces*, pp.7-30, Vol. 10 of Human Behaviour and Environment, New York: Plenum
- Broadbent G. (1990) *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design*, London: Van Nostrand Reinhold (International)
- Callewa B. (1987) *Muslim Hausa Women in Nigeria: Tradition and Change*, Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press
- Carmona M. (1998) Urban Design and Planning Practice, in C. Greed and M. Roberts (eds) *Introducing Urban Design: intervention and responses*, Harlow, England: Longman, pp.39-63

- Carmona M., Heath T., Oc T., & Tiesdell S., (2003) *Public Places- Urban Spaces: the Dimensions of Urban Design*, Oxford: Architectural Press
- Carr S. M., M. Francis, L. Rivlin, & A. Stone, (1992) *Public Space*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Castells M. (1977) *The Urban Question* (transl. A. Sheridan), London: Edward Arnold
- Castells M. (2003) "The New Historical Relationship between Space and Society", in A. R. Cuthbert (ed) *Designing Cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd
- Clapperton H. (1828) *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccato*, London: John Murray
- Clifford J. & G.E. Marcus (1986) *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Clifford, G. M. (1923) *RE-Assessment Report on Zaria Town*, NAK, SNP 678/1923
- Cole C. W. (1949) *Report on Land Tenure in Zaria Province*, Kaduna, 82 p
- Coles C. & Mack B. (1991) Women in Twentieth Century Hausa Society, in C. Coles & B. Mack (ed) (1991) *Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp.3-28
- Colquhoun A. (1989) *Modernity and the Classical Tradition: Architectural Essays 1980-1987*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Cybriewsky R. (1999) Changing Patterns of Urban Public Space, *Cities*, Vol. 1 No. 24, pp.223-231
- Daba H. A. (1986), Social Hierarchy and Hausa Greetings, *Kano Studies*, New Series Vol. 2, No 4, pp.39-60
- Dalhatu U., & Hassan M (2000) *Alhaji Shehu Idris; the 18th Fulani Emir of Zazzau*, Books Africana
- Davies W. K. D. (1984) *Factorial Ecology*, Gower: Aldershot
- De Jong T. M., & Van Der Voordt D. J. M. (eds) (2002) *Ways to Study and Research Urban, Architectural and Technical Design*, Delft, Netherlands: DUP Sciences
- Dear M. & Wolch J. (1989) "How Territory Shapes Social Life", in J. Wolch and M. Dear (eds), *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life*, Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman
- Denham D, Clapperton H. & Oudney W. (1826) *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823 and 1824*, London: John Murray
- Denyer Susan, (1978) *African Traditional Architecture*, New York: Africana Publishing Company
- Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Ahmadu Bello University (DURP), (1979) *Zaria Master Plan – 2000*, Kaduna: Ministry of Lands and Survey, Kaduna State Government
- Diaman L., Kirk-Greene A., & Oyediran O. (eds) (1997), *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society under Babangida*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, inc.
- Drummond L.B.W. (2000) Street Scenes: Practices of Public and Private Spaces in Urban Vietnam, *Urban Studies* 37(12), 2377 –2391
- Duncan N. (1996) Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces, in N. Duncan (ed) *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, London: Routledge, pp.127-145
- Ebuga M. A. (1984) *The Renewal of the Centres of old Cities in Northern Nigeria: Case Studies of Sokoto and Zaria*, PhD thesis submitted to the University of Liverpool
- Eisenstadt S. N., & A. Shachar, (1987) *Society, Culture and Urbanization*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications

- Eley G (1992) Nations, Public, and Political cultures: placing Habermas in the nineteenth century, in C. Calhoun (ed) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Feasey G. G. (1915) *Assessment Report on Madauchi District, Zaria Province*, 1915 NAK SNP 236p/1917, attachment
- Ferguson D. E. (1973) *19th Century Hausa land, Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of his People*, A dissertation submitted for Doctor of Philosophy in History to the University of California, Los Angeles
- Fischer C., (1981) *The Urban Experience*, New York: Harcourt Brace
- Fraser N (1999) Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy, in S. During (ed) *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, pp.518-536
- Frishman A. (1991) Hausa Women in the Urban Economy of Kano, in C. Coles & B. Mack (ed) (1991) *Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp.3-28
- Garnwa M. K. (1966) *The Historical Geography of Zaria City, 1804-1960*, Undergraduate research essay in Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
- Giddens A. (1981) *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, Vol 1, Power, Property and the State*, Berkeley: University of California press
- Goddard A. D. (1970) Industry, in M. J. Mortimore & J. Wilson, (1970) *Zaria and its Regions*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Department of Geography
- Goheen P. G. (1998) Public Space and the Geography of the Modern City, *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(4), pp. 479-496
- Great Britain, Colonial Office Official Correspondence, *Northern Nigeria; File CO 46*, Colonial Office
- Greed C. & Roberts M. (1998) *Introducing Urban Design: Intervention and Responses*, Harlow England: Longman
- Gregory D. & Urry J., (ed.) (1985) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan
- Gregory D. (1989), Aerial Differentiation and Post-modern Human Geography, in D. Gregory and R. Walford (eds) *Horizon in Human Geography*, Barnes and Noble, Totowa, NJ
- Harvey D. (1973) *Social Justice and the City*, London: Edward Arnold
- Heathcote D. (1973) The Princess's Apartment in Kano old Treasury, *Savanna*, vol 2 no 1, pp. 61-64
- Hillier B. & Hanson J. (1984) *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hogben S. J. (1967) *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press
- Hohendahl P. U. (1992) The Public Sphere: Models and Boundaries, in C. Calhoun (ed) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Howell P. (1993) Public Space and the Public Sphere: Political Theory and the Historical Geography of Modernity, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 11, pp.303-322
- Huang S, Yeh B. S. A. (1996) Gender and Urban Space in the Tropical World, *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 17(2), pp.105-112
- Hunwick J. O. (1965), Islam in West Africa A.D. 1000-1800, in in Ajayi J. F. A & Espie I. (eds) *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, pp.113-131
- Ifemesia C. C. (1965) States of the Central Sudan, in Ajayi J. F. A & Espie I. (eds) *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, pp.72-112

- Jackson P. & Smith S. J. (1984) *Exploring Social Geography*, London: George Allen & Unwin
- Jacobs J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, N. York: Vintage Books
- Jalingo A. S. (1986) Social Stratification and Political Order in Northern Nigeria, *Kano Studies*, New Series, Vol. 2 No. 4, 1986 pp.25-38
- Jammer M. (1969) *Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Kalltorp O. Elander I. Ericsson O & Franzen M (1997) Introduction, in O. Kalltorp, I Elander, O Ericsson, & M. Franzen (eds) *Cities in Transformation – Transformation in Cities: Social and Symbolic Change of Urban Space*, Aldershot: Avebury, pp.1-11
- Kalltorp Ove (ed) (1997) *Cities in transformation – transformation in Cities: Social and Symbolic Change of Urban Space*, England: Avebury, 307.76.CIT
- Karp D. Stone G. & Yoels W. (1991) *Being Urban: A sociology of City Life*, N.York: McGraw Hill
- Kirk-Greene A, Rimmer D. (1981), *Nigeria Since 1970*, Ibadan, Nigeria: Nigerian Publishers Services Ltd.
- Kirk-Greene A. H. M. (1962) *Traditional Authority and the New Bureaucratic Elite in Hausa Society*, Paper prepared for the Conference on Education and Political Development, Lake Arrowhead Conference Centre, Lake Arrowhead, California, June 25-29, 1962
- Kirk-Greene A.H. M. (1961) *Decorated Houses in Zaria*, Nigeria Magazine LXVIII, p.53-78
- Knox P. & Pinch S. (2000) *Urban Social Geography: An introduction*, Harlow, England: Prentice Hall
- Korofi H. A. (2003) Katsina and the Legacy of the Durbar, *Daily Trust*, Wednesday, February 26, 2003 edition, Abuja,
- Krier R. (1979) *Urban Space*, London: Academy Editions
- Lagopoulos A. P. (1993) Postmodernism, Geography and the Social Semiotics of Space, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 11, pp.255-278
- Leontidou L. (1996) Alternatives to Modernism in (Southern) Urban Theory: Exploring In-Between Spaces, *Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp.178-195
- Lovejoy P. E. (1980) *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900*, Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press
- Lovejoy, P. E. & Hogendorn J. S. (1993) *Slow Death for Slavery: Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria 1897-1936*, Cambridge England, Cambridge University Press
- Lynch K (1981) *Good City Form*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Lynch K. (1960) *The Image of the City*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Ma'aruf S. (1985) *Urban Design Characteristics of Traditional Cities in Northern Nigeria: Case Study of Zaria, Daura and Katsina Walled Cities*, M.Sc. URP thesis submitted to the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Environmental Design, Ahmadu Bello University
- Madanipour A. (1994) Urban Public Space in the Middle East, in A. Awotona (ed) *Proceedings of the International Symposium on People, Place and Development*, 1-2 December, 1994, New Castle Upon Tyne: Center for Architectural Research and Development Overseas, University of New Castle Upon Tyne, UK
- Madanipour A., (2003), Why are the Design and Development of Ppublic Spaces Significant for Cities? In Cuthbert A. R. (ed) *Designing cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Madanipour Ali (1996) *Design of Urban Space- An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process*, N.York: John Wiley and Sons

- Madauci I, Isa Y, & Daura B, (1968) *Hausa Customs*, Zaria: Northern Nigeria Publishing Company
- Mahdi A. (1974), The Hausa factor in West African History, Ph.D Thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham, 1974
- Mahdi A. (1976) The spread of the Hausa Culture in West Africa 1700-1900, *Savanna*, Vol. 5, No 1, p.3-14
- Mama D. K. (1966) *House Types in Zaria City*, Undergraduate research essay in Geography, Ahmadu Bello University
- Massey D. (1985) New Directions in Space, in Gregory D. and Urry J. (ed.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan pp.9-19
- Massey D. (1992) Politics and Space-Time, *New Left Review*, 196, pp.65-84
- McDowell L. (1999) *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Miethe T (1995) Fear and Withdrawal from Urban Life, *Annals*, AAPSS (No. 539), May:14-27
- Miles W. F. S. (1994) *Hausa Land Divided: Colonialism and Independence in Nigeria and Niger*, Ithaca, N.York; Cornell University Press
- Mitchell D. (1995), The End of Public Space- Peoples park, Definitions of the Public and Democracy, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85(1), pp. 108-133
- Mitchell D. (1996) Introduction- Public Space and the City, *Urban Geography*, 17(2), pp. 127-131
- Mitchell K. (2000) The Culture of Urban Space, *Urban Geography*, 21(5), pp.443 – 449
- Molotoch H. Freudenburg W. & Paulsen K. E. (2000), History Repeats Itself but How? City Character, Urban Tradition, and the Accomplishment of Place, *American Sociological Review*, 65(6), pp.791-823
- Mortimore M. J. & Wilson J., (1970) *Zaria and its Regions*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Department of Geography
- Mortimore M. J. (1970) Settlement Evolution and Land Use, in M. J. Mortimore & J. Wilson, (1970) *Zaria and its Regions*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Department of Geography
- Moughtin C. (1999) *Urban Design: Street and Square*, Oxford: Architectural Press
- Moughtin J. C. (1972) *The Friday Mosque, Zaria*, *Savanna*, Vol. 1 No. 2, December 1972
- Moughtin J. C. (1985) *Hausa Architecture*, London: Ethnographica
- Moughtin J. C. (1988) *The Work of Z. R. Dmochowski: Nigerian Traditional Architecture*, London: Ethnographica
- Mumford L. (1961) *The City in History*, New York: Harcourt Brace and World
- Nolte I. (2002) Federalism and Communal Conflict in Nigeria, *Regional and Federal Studies*, Vol 12, No. 1, p.171-92
- Northern Nigeria, *Annual Report*, 1962
- Northern Nigeria (1924) *Plan of Zaria Township 1911 1924* NAK SNP 95/1924
- Northern Nigeria (1952) *Zaria Town Planning Report (preliminary) 1946 – 1952*, NAK SNP 1613/s1; SNP 1613
- Northern Nigeria, (1922) *Townships, Northern Provinces: New rules for Types of Layouts*, NAK SNP 194/1922
- Nwanodi A. B. A. (1989) Hausa Compounds: Product of Cultural, Economic, Social and Political Systems, *Habitat International*, Vol. 13, No. 4., pp. 83-97
- Olayemi, O. A. (1980) Sub-Standard Housing and Slum Clearance in Developing Countries: A case study of Nigeria, *Habitat International*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 345-354
- Oliver Paul, (1975) *Shelter, Sign and Symbol*, London: Barry and Jenkins

- Orr Sir C. (1965) *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd
- Paden J. N. (1973) *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- Palmer H. R. (1928) *Sudanese Memoires (translations from a number of arabic manuscripts relating to central and western Sudan)*, London: Frank Cass and co.
- Parker J. (2000) *Structuration*, Philadelphia Pa: Open University
- Philip J. E. (2003) *Hausa Orthography in the Twentieth Century, Part 1: Romanization*, http://www3.aa.tufts.ac.jp/~P_aflang/TEXTS/sept96/philip.txt
- Pred A. (1984) Places as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time Geography of Becoming Places, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), pp.279-297
- Pred A. (1984a) Structuration, Biography Formation and Knowledge, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2, pp.251-275
- Pred A. (1985) The Social Becomes the Spatial, the Spatial Becomes the Social; Enclosures, Social Change and the Becoming of Place in the Swedish Province of Skane, in D Gregory and J. Urry (eds), *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan
- Proshansky H. M. (1978), The City and Self Identity, Environment and Behaviour, Vol. 10 No. 2 June 1978
- Proshansky H. M., Fabian A. K., & Karminoff R., (1983) Place Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 1983
- Prussin L. (1968) The Architecture of Islam in West Africa, in *African Arts*, Vol. I
- Prussin L. (1974) An introduction to Indigenous African Architecture, in the *Journal of Architectural Historians*, October 1974
- Quinn C. A. & Quinn F. (2003) *Islam in Nigeria- Seeking a Competitive edge, in Pride, Faith and Fear, Islam in sub Saharan Africa*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, pp. 33-64
- Rapoport A. (1969) *House Form and Culture*, Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall
- Rapoport A. (1977) *Human aspects of Urban Form*, Oxford: Pergamon Press
- Rapoport A. (1979) On the Cultural Origins of Settlements, in J. C. Snyder and A. C. Catanese (eds) *Introduction to Urban Planning*, N. York: McGraw Hill, pp. 31-61
- Rapoport A. (1980) Cross-cultural Aspects of Environmental Design, in I. Alterman, A. Rapoport & J. F. Wohlwill (eds) *Human Behavior and Environmental Advances in Theory and Research, Vol. 4: Environment and Culture*, N. York: Plenum Press, pp. 7-46
- Rasmussen S. E. (1989), *Experiencing Architecture*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Renne P. E. (1997) *Changing Pattern of Child Spacing and Abortion in a Northern Nigerian Town*, Office of population research working paper No 97-1, Princeton University
- Robinson C. H. (1900) *Nigeria, Our latest Protectorate*, London: Horace Marshall and Sons
- Ruddick S. (1996) Constructing Difference in Public Space: Race, Class, and Gender as Interlocking systems, *Urban Geography* 17(2), pp.132-51
- Saad H. T. (1980), Islamic Influence on Architectural Decoration in West Africa: A case study on Hausa Traditional Architecture with particular reference to Zaria, Paper prepared for the International Symposium on Islamic Architecture and Urbanism at the College of Architecture and Planning, King Faisal University, Dammam Saudi Arabia, winter 1400 AH
- Saad H. T. (1981) *Between Myth and Reality: The Aesthetics of Architecture in Hausaland*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilm

- Saad H. T. (1986) The Impact of Modernization and Westernization on Traditional Hausa Architecture, *Kano Studies*, New Series Vol. 2 No. 4, pp.105-111
- Saarinén T. F. and Sell J. C. (1980) Environmental Perception, *Progress in Human Geography*, 4, pp. 521-548
- Salins P. D. (1971) 'Household Location Patterns in American Metropolitan Areas', *Economic Geography*, 47, 234-248
- Sassen S. (1991) *The Global City*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Schwerdtfeger F. W. (1982) *Traditional Housing in African Cities*, New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Schwerdtfeger F. W. (1971) Housing in Zaria, in Oliver P (ed) *Shelter in Africa*, London, pp.58-79
- Scruton R. (1987) Public Space and the Classical Vernacular, in Glazier N. & Lilla M. (Eds) *Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, N. York: The Free Press
- Sennett R. (1977) *The Fall of the Public Man*, New York: Knopf
- Sjöberg A. (1960) *The Pre-industrial City: Past Present and Future*, New York: Free press
- Smith A. (1970) History: Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings, in Mortimore M. J. & Wilson J., (1970) *Zaria and its Regions*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Department of Geography
- Smith M. F. (1954) *Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd
- Smith M. G (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: A report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council*, Colonial Research studies 16, London, 264pp
- Smith M. G. (1960) *Government in Zazzau*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Soja E. W. (1985) "The Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Retheorization", in Gregory D. & Urry J., (ed.) (1985) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan
- Spreiregen P. D. (1965) *Urban Design: The Architecture of Towns and Cities*, N. York: McGraw Hill Book Company
- Staudinger P. (1889) In the Heart of the Hausa States, Volume 1 (translated by Johanna Moody), Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Centre for international Studies, Monograph in international studies- African Studies Series number 56
- Temple O (1922) *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, London
- Thrift N. (1985) Flies and Germs: a Geography of Knowledge, in D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan
- Tibbald F. (1992) *Making People-Friendly Towns; Improving the Public Environment in Towns and Cities*, Harlow; Longman
- Trancik R. (1986) *Finding Lost Space*, N.York: Van Nostrand Reinhold
- Tsumi B. (1994), *Architecture and Disjunction*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Tuan Y. F (1980) *Landscape of Fear*, Oxford: Blackwell (?check carr et al).
- Tuan, Yi-fu (1977) *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press
- Umar M. S. (2001) Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria: 1970s-1990s, *africaTODAY*, Volume 48, No. 2, Summer 2001
- Umar M. S. (2001) Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria, 1970s-1990s, *africaTODAY*, Project Muse, <http://muse.jht.edu>, pp.127-150
- Urquhart A. W., (1970) Morphology of Zaria, in M. J. Mortimore & J. Wilson, (1970) *Zaria and its Regions*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Department of Geography

- Urquhart A. W., (1977) *Planned Urban Landscapes of Northern Nigeria*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press
- Usman Y. B. (ed) (no date), *Cities of the Savannah, Lagos*, the Nigeria Magazine, Cultural Division, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos (interesting picture p75, History of Zaria jihad, 1960s)
- Van de ven C. (1980) *Space in Architecture*, The Netherlands, Van Gorcum Assen
- Vance J. E. (1971) Land Assignment in Pre-capitalist, Capitalist and Post-capitalist Societies, *Economic Geography*, 47, pp.101-120
- Walzer M. (1986) Pleasures and Cost of Urbanity, *Dissent*, Fall, pp. 470-475
- Webster J. B. & Boahen A. A., (1967) *The Growth of African Civilization; the Revolutionary Years – West Africa since 1800*, London: Longman Group Ltd
- White S., (1966) *Dan Bana: the Memoirs of a Nigerian Official*, London: Cassel
- Whittaker J. R. (1970) *The Politics of Tradition, Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Wirth L., (1938), Urbanism as a Way of Life, *American Journal of Sociology*, 44, pp. 1-24
- Yakubu, A. M. (1996) *An Aristocracy in Political Crisis: the End of Indirect Rule and the Emergence of Party Politics in the Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, Aldershot: Avebury
- Zaria Province (1906 – 1949), *Annual Reports*
- Zaria Province (1936), *Town Planning – Zaria, 1927 – 1936*, NAK ZARPRO 1613
- Zaria Province (1938) *Zaria city- Organization of*, NAK ZAPRO 3138- 1938
- Zaria Province (1941) *Census of Tradesmen, 12 August 1946*, NAK ZARPRO 4134
- Zaria Province, (1940) *Zaria Town Planning, NAK: 1926 – 1931*, ZARPRO 504 1932 – 1940, ZARPRO 545
- Zaria, *Native Authority*, NAK, ZARNA 1/S 17
- Zevi B. (1957) *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture*, New York: Horizon Press

APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS ABOUT CHANGE IN PUBLIC SPACE

Table A-1: Summary of observation about types of public spaces

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Spaces in the Jihad period had their roots in pre-Jihad period, including gates, movement spaces, production, community, natural, market and religious spaces • Dandali established as a unique place • One of nine gates sealed • Market evolved as centre of commerce and hub of activity • Reorganization of religious spaces - establishment of Friday mosque and expansion in number of local mosque and decline in visibility of traditional religious spaces • Recreation and Entertainment spaces focused on traditional games and taboo activities
Colonial	• Strengthening of the Dandali in the colonial period through institutional buildings construction and a terminating roundabout • Construction of vehicular roads, elevating importance and public role of such roads • Modernization of the Market and strengthening of its role in the city • New institutional spaces established, including CMS grammar school, works and Veterinary Departments, Prison, Dispensary all evolving as centres of public activities • Introduction of recreational sport spaces within CMS grammar school
Post-Colonial	• Change in form of entertainment spaces • Expansion of institutional facilities, including schools • Expansion of recreational sport spaces • Expanded vehicular road construction leads to evolution of a series of roads as centres social activities • New market established at Amaru, and smaller markets expand within fabric at lower spatial scales • Natural spaces including burrow pits decrease significantly in city • Trend of use of empty spaces within built fabric as play areas

Table A-2: Summary of observations about morphological organization

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Essential character inherited from Jihad period • City fabric divided into developed part and undeveloped part • Developed part has two space patterns- dense inner city pattern and dispersed outward area patter • Fabric had no land use zoning or functional differentiation • Density was highest around market and decrease outward to gates • Whole city given form by the organic movement system; Movement system crisscross fabric connecting gates to twine centres of palace and market • Public space enclosure consisted mainly of one story houses with high compound wall defining labyrinthine passage ways in dense city areas • Towards the walls, enclosure changes to scattered houses in open space • Visual unity in open public space enclosure resulting from unity in colour and material of construction, technology and house details • Most noticeable change in period restricted to outward expansion and internal reorganization • Change in expansion of <i>Soro</i> type houses as enclosure
Colonial	• Dispersed pattern dominant in built fabric with dense pattern restricted to market vicinity • Planned area pattern introduced in colonial period • Evolution of vehicular roads as strong organizing armatures in fabric • Increase in 2 storey construction reflected in enclosure particularly around market • Increase in decoration, and later adoption of new materials and technology of construction reflected in enclosure patterns
Post-Colonial	• Dense pattern increased in area from 1970 while dispersed pattern decreased in area • Increase in planned space pattern as spots in built fabric • New city areas pattern introduced; alter traditional radial pattern of organization and of houses defining common neighbourhood spaces • New road development leads improve openness and connectivity of fabric • Multi-story construction increased in fabric and reflected in uneven enclosure height • Expanded adoption of new materials and house form also change enclosure pattern, leading to lost of visual unity and character of contrast

Table A-3: Summary of observations about production and management

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Emir as most significant agent in space production followed by Judges, and city residents • Process of private domain production is informal using self-help or paid labour • Public facilities produced in two ways- through communal labour or use of expert builders • Three forms of public spaces and facilities ownership exist for all periods- private, public and government • Emir excised some form of control through subordinate officials over wall and gates, markets, production, religious and institutional spaces • No regular regime scheme of servicing for such spaces; rather carried out as and when needed • Other spaces managed and serviced communally
Colonial	• Significant agents are agents of colonial administration, followed by the Emir, Judges, merchants and elites, and city residents • Private domain production was informal through self-help or expert labour • Specialized agency- works department in charge of public space production • Period saw introduction of some planning and development administration • Improvement in servicing and management in colonial period due to establishment of Native authority as management and servicing agency for city • Lack of systematic and planned system for management and servicing
Post-Colonial	• Zaria Local Government, along with other Government agencies and residents as significant agents along with Emir secondary agent • Private domain production still informal but reliant on expert paid labour • Public sector production ad-hoc, with no systematic process of planning, or structure for management and servicing • Facilities provision has witnessed expansion in post-colonial period • Government owned facilities managed by responsible agencies in an impromptu and inadequate way • Communal facilities left with no clear responsibilities for management and serving; individuals and communities using sometimes service and manage • Private facilities managed and serviced by owners • City has witnessed a decline in amenity from Jihad to present time • Areas with good amenity restricted to open areas and specific locations in fabric • Amenity problems are widespread and exist in the form of drainage, refuse and stagnant water pools.

Table A-4: Summary of observations about social character of public space

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Diverse ethnicity and place of origin character in early to middle Jihad period • Spatial organization of fabric along ethnic and occupational lines • Towards end of period more cultural homogenization • Public space of period mainly male domain, Participation of females is limited • Male participation across all age groups, but with limited high social status group participation • Female participation stratified along age and social status lines
Colonial	• Trend of increased seclusion for middle class married females • Decline in sharpness in the visibility of age and gender patterns • Increased cultural homogenization blunting differentiation
Post-Colonial	• Patterns from the colonial period continue for most of early post-Colonial period • Presently social character homogenized around Hausa culture with minimal presence of others in city spaces • Public space still principally male domain but with significant presence of females varying according to space type • Social character segregated according to age groups in spaces • Differentiation along social class lines more evident at occasions • In general patterns over period show stable access for all male groups, limited access to space and activities for females • Diversity declining due to cultural homogenization and limited social life participation by high social classes

Table A-5: Summary of observations about activities in public spaces

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Social life focused on movement and transportation, functional, religious, cultural, social and, entertainment and recreation activities • Each activity associated with specific form of practice in the period, sometimes with root in pre-Jihad times • All activity types inherited from pre-jihad period
Colonial	• Some practices disappear or change form with time • Introduction of recreational sports activities • Introduction of political activities in later part of period • Beginning of change in form of transportation as an activity
Post-Colonial	• Significant change started towards the later part of period • Change affected form of many activities including transportation and movement, social, religious, and entertainment and recreation activities • Craft activities die out replaced by new forms of practices • New forms of recreation and entertainment practices take over

Table A-6: Summary of observations about daily biography

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Focused on day time activities with limited night-time activities • Activities begin from sunrise, with timing generally imprecise • Muslim prayer as a loose and imprecise marker of time • Morning activities centre on neighbourhoods while afternoon activities centre on functional spaces • Places in general host mixed activities and reflect general social character • Market was most important focal point of activity • At sunset activities shift to neighbourhoods • Most will retire after late night prayer, but some will be engage in entertainment until later in the Night • Pattern of daily life will change as a result of change in seasons, due to religious events and celebrations, and other events
Colonial	• Change was in extension of general activity later into the night • Gradual disappearance of moonlight activity towards end of period • Evolution of Dandali as a significant centre of activity paralleling the market • Some activities die out and become invisible as part of daily life
Post-Colonial	• Major changes occur towards later part of the period • Muslim prayer emerge as firm marker of daily life • Seasonal changes diminish in importance in structuring daily life • Introduction of weekly patterns with Sunday and Saturday as holidays • Presently, daily biography starts at sunrise with early morning prayer • All city space become active by midday, with activities are combined in different proportions in different places • Road spaces act as anchor for activities • Late afternoon recreational sports at play fields • Day time activities wind down by sunset • Neighbourhood as focus of late evening activities • Activities at entertainment centres of cinema and video houses till mid night • City winds down by about midnight • Pattern changes reflecting weekly rhythmic changes, to a minor extent due to seasons, and due to religious events and other celebrations and events.

Table A-7: Summary of observations about place significance and significant places

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Two spaces; dandali and market remained most significant over the course of city's history • Level of significance has decline with time due to activity decentralization • Dandali and market were most significant in Jihad period along with Gayan, Doka and Tukur-Tukur gates and some neighbourhood spaces such as Makera
Colonial	• Colonial period saw beginning of hierarchical organization of significance as a result of decentralization • Dandali was strengthened and along with market were most significant • Vehicular road construction elevated significance of some roads • New institutional spaces achieve instant significance- Prison, CMS grammar school, Works Department, Dispensary • Recognized local centres of activities evolved, such as Kanfage, Alfadarai
Post-Colonial	• Substantial change in significance patterns occurred after 1970 in the post-Colonial period • New facilities such as Cinema became land marks • Road construction, created hierarchical organization with city roads as centres of activity • Currently there is diffusion in acknowledgement of importance, with Dandali and Market identified with some gates and many local spaces as important • Significance is generally determined by symbolic importance or function

Table A-8: Summary of observations about group identity and connections

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Identity in the Jihad period built around caliphate, ethnicity and place of origin • The period saw greater integration and homogenization of identity based the Hausa culture towards the end of period
Colonial	• Emergence of a strong localized spatial identity • Increased homogenization around the Hausa culture • Decline in identity associated with Ethnicity and place of origin • Emergence of new regional identity as 'Northerner' towards the end of the period
Post-Colonial	• Establishment of a strong local identity as indigenous Zaria Hausa-Fulani and Muslim • Emergence of a situational broader identity based on caliphate, state of origin, northern Nigeria and Nigeria

Table A-9: Summary of observations about behaviour and attitudes

Period	Patterns
Jihad To post-Colonial period	• Attitudes historically attributed to residents; ○ Merry, well behaved, peace loving, polite, accommodating, helpful, inquisitive, have respect for privacy, law abiding, indifferent to affairs of state, have no expectation from the state
Current	• Changes in behaviour and attitudes recently observed; ○ Growing discontent and disaffection with existing situation ○ Increased willingness to challenge authority and engage in mass action ○ Very willing to complain about unfulfilled service and development expectations from the government ○ Growing antagonism towards agents associated with the government ○ Growing perception of a decline in discipline (Tarbiya) in the society ○ Growing violent crimes of dispossession

Table A-10: Summary of observations about norms values and symbols

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Norms and values of period rooted in Islam and in traditional customary practices inherited from the past • Norms and values established both as positive prescriptions and taboos • Customary traditions specify right ways of courting, marriage and other ceremonies, establish right way of dressing and define generational categories and standards of behaviour • Items of particular value in period include title holding, dressing and general beautification • Taboos include non-marital sex, pregnancy, alcohol consumption, gambling and prostitution • Some taboo activities, including gambling and prostitution, nonetheless practiced • The most important symbols of the period are dressing and building • The office of the emir also has particular entourage of dressing, people, sounds and greetings are associated with it
Colonial	• Norms and values continue rooted in Islam and Customary traditions • Practices such as marriages witnessed influence of foreign practices marking beginning of change • Dress codes became rigid for females in the city • Rise of western education as a source of power and increase in status • Educated persons as carriers and outcome of change • Desire for traditional titles continue, even among educated class • Expansion of <i>Soro</i> construction as a status symbol • Expansion of decoration with new values and symbolism attached to practice • Introduction of new construction materials and technology and their associated symbolisms • Symbols of car and service quarters associated with new bureaucratic class
Post-Colonial	• Post-colonial period witnessed gradual introduction of new dress form complementing traditional ones • Process of tradition dress production modernized and expanded as still an element of value • Attitudes towards female dressing relaxed from the 1980s • More value attached to technological innovations and physical development • Multi-Story construction expanded with renewed symbolism • Decoration as a symbolic item declined in importance • Location evolving as a symbolic issue with preference for periphery • In the current period, there is expression of general desire for development and opportunities • Traditional titles still desired in current time, despite perception of reduced influence • New relativity in participation in taboo activities depending on sanctions • The most important present symbols are houses and dressing

Table A-11: Summary of observations about the role of religion in social life

Period	Patterns
Jihad	• Elevation of Islamic religion to centre of social and political life • Unity of political and religious power in the emir; spatially reflected in the Dandali • Customary spatial organization of built fabric probably based on religious consideration during pre-Jihad period • Socially, religion provided norms and values that govern social action and existence, specifying bounds of behaviours and taboos • Religion also specified the forms of institutions such as marriages and gender roles • Role of religion not uniform across all social classes and period in the Jihad • In a segment of the population, Islamic religion co-existed with pre-Islamic practices, including Bori and different forms of mythologies
Colonial	• Islam continued as the dominant force ordering social life • Progressive separation of religious and political power as a unity in the person of the Emir • Expansion in the scope and influence of Islam in social life • Zaria emerges as a centre of Islamic scholarship • Non Islamic practices continue, but progressively decline or change form, with Bori being transformed from religion to entertainment
Post-Colonial	• Entrenchment of Islamic practices in the city • Practice more widespread and scriptural; change in norms with no religious basis • Fractionalization of religious group leading to tensions and inter-group conflicts • Non-Islamic practices gradually disappeared, and where like Bori still remain has transformed into occasional entertainment.

APPENDIX B: COMMENTARY ON THE HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH

1.0 Introduction

This research is substantially historical in nature. The utility of historical research is, however, largely tied to the quality of available sources of information. This requirement has created the need for a critical examination of the sources used in this research. This appendix examines the historical data situation for research on Zaria, examines briefly the sources used in the study and undertakes a general evaluation of the quality of the sources.

2.0 Historical Studies and Quality of Data

Any historical research requires the availability of quality historical data. The quality of historical data is a measure of the accuracy, reliability and comprehensiveness of the data, and the capacity of the data to facilitate the necessary deductions or inferences that are required in the research. When research is undertaken for a period of time, data has to be available not only for a single point in time but over the period of interest in the research. The difficulties of data availability for research on Zaria have already been highlighted in the main text in Section 3.3.1. The difficulties led to a heavy reliance on limited sources for some periods and on diverse piecemeal information in the case of other periods. Overall, the data situation raises questions about the quality of available information, which needed to be acknowledged and addressed. This appendix examines the most important sources used in the research and examines the issue of quality in terms of reliability and comprehensiveness. For each data category or period, the principal sources are identified and examined in terms of their accuracy, reliability and comprehensiveness.

3.0 Commentary on the Historical sources Used in the Research

3.1 Establishing Historical and Cultural Context

Many published materials served as the main sources for examining and understanding the history and cultural context of Zaria in the period covered by the study. These were sometimes backed by oral sources. Among the most important historical sources consulted are Hogben (1967), Smith (1960), Ajayi (1965), Kirk-Greene & Rimmer (1981), Damian et al (1997), Robinson (1900) Paden (1973), Yakubu (1996), and Dalhatu (2000). These sources provided substantial historical information covering all the periods covered in the study. Hogben (1967) and Ajayi (1965) presented significant information on the early

history of Zaria up to the colonial period covering different aspects of social life including politics and governance, trade and economy, and general cultural development. Smith (1960) presented a detailed treatise on the development of government in Zazzau from the pre-Jihad period to the Colonial period. Kirk Greene & Rimmer (1981) and Damian et al (1997) presented information on developments in Nigeria after colonial rule. Taken together, these sources, along with other available sources, enabled the understanding of the historical development of Zaria city as well as its cultural setting in the periods covered by the research. This aspect of the study was not, therefore, subject to any question regarding the availability or quality of data.

3.2 Sources on Public Space in the Jihad Period

The principal sources used to examine public space in the Jihad period are Clapperton (1828), Staudinger (1889A & B), Ferguson (1973) Smith (1954). These principal sources were used in conjunction with many other published sources that in their discussions link practices in periods after the Jihad with the Jihad period. Clapperton (1828) and Staudinger (1889a & b) were particularly valuable, because the two explorers had visited Zaria and recorded observations and details about the city and its social life. Smith (1954) presents the biography of a lady Baba, who is situated in Giwa, a location that is within the confines of the Zazzau emirate thereby providing information that was useful in validating practices as well as examining female activities in social life of the period. The biography of the lady covers the period from the later part of the Jihad period around 1890 to 1950. Ferguson (1973) also presents the biography of a Hausa Islamic scholar located in Ghana. His upbringing in Hausa land coupled with his detailed knowledge of the various Hausa cities and their social practices made him an important source for the period even though it was difficult to ascertain his presence in Zaria. The Jihad sources suffer from the triple problem of lack of comprehensiveness, questionable validity and reliability. In all cases, the observations recorded by the explorers were the product of a short time visit to the city. The observations do not address all the issues that need to be covered by the research and the limited time spent by the observers in the city makes it questionable to generalize their observations to the whole period, even when the observations are made at different times in the period. Their observations may also be of questionable reliability, but it is impossible to address the issue due to the lack of alternative sources. In the case of Clapperton (1828) for example, he has observed that Zaria's Mosque has a tall Minaret. This observation has not been validated by anybody, which raises questions about his report. Prof. Schwerdtfeger of

the Department of Architecture, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, has, in a discussion, also observed that some of the observations recorded by Clapperton may not be a true reflection of the practices of the society. Staudinger in presenting his report also indicates a familiarity with the observations and writings of Clapperton. In exhibiting such familiarity, he seems to indicate that his observations were to a certain degree influenced by those of Clapperton, thereby raising the issue of validity in his observations. Overall, the sources have been fundamental in enabling the examination of Zaria in the period. Questions regarding their quality cannot, however, be dismissed.

3.3 Sources on Public Space in the Colonial Period

The principal sources used in the understanding of public space in the Colonial period include archival material, government reports, Arnette (1922), Smith (1955), Kirk-Greene (1962), and Mama (1966). The colonial period saw a process of government documentation introduced to Zaria that has resulted in the availability of archival materials of different forms. Along with Gazettes, such as Arnette (1922), being prepared for each city, there was a substantial amount of historical information in the form of intra-government communication and documentations. Many of these had already been harnessed and incorporated into published materials during the post-colonial period. The period was also characterized by reports of different types commissioned by the colonial government. Some of these covered issues that affected cities and were included as part of archival materials. Some, such as Smith (1955), are in the form of substantial studies of the communities of the Zaria emirate. There were very few academic studies from the period with Mama (1966) being one. This study was important as it was focused on a segment of the traditional city and provided information about patterns of physical developments. Overall the period is characterized by the availability of diverse sources of information. When sources on the period are viewed together in the context of the current study, they tend not to be comprehensive, covering all issues of interest or enabling the analysis of patterns of change within the period. Archival materials are in many cases missing information about specific aspects of social life and, government documentation is sometimes not comprehensive in ways that address all issues or covers the whole colonial period.

3.4 Sources on Public Space in the Post-Colonial Period

The post-Colonial period is characterized by the availability of a number of both published and unpublished academic research products. Among the most significant are Urquhart (1977), Moughtin (1985) Ebuga (1984) Achi (1985), DURP ABU (1979), Mortimore (1970), and Schwerdtfeger (1982). Some of these sources, particularly Urquhart (1977) and Moughtin (1985) provided information that linked Zaria's built fabric of the period with that of the past hence serving as a source of information for multiple periods. In general the sources of the post-colonial period also suffer from the problem of comprehensiveness. They tend to be limited in the issues or times covered and do not always provide the information necessary to adequately address issues of interest in the study.

4.0 Overall Assessments of the Historical Sources

In examining the overall availability of historical sources of information and the quality of available information, it would be correct to say that they are not completely adequate in terms of the quality necessary to facilitate the examination of public space in the broad time specified and across all the issues and questions specified within the scope of the research. Despite the inadequacy in the quality of available data, it is believed that good use has been made of the available information to examine and identify change in public space in ways that, from all indication, appears to reflect the reality of the history of the city. This has been achieved because of strategies adopted in the research as outlined in Chapter 3. The study still however acknowledges the limitations imposed by data availability and does not in anyway claim historical accuracy and validity beyond that inherent in the sources of data and information used.